

# Social Order

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J. Edgar Hoover

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40c

Catholic Social Teaching Updated:

## MATER ET MAGISTRA

JOHN F. CRONIN, S.S.

BOOKS • LETTERS • COMMENT

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# Social Order

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# MATER ET MAGISTRA:

## Catholic Social Teaching Updated

JOHN F. CRONIN, S.S.

**I**T MAY SEEM strange to find in *Mater et Magistra* an opening to the left. In terms of European politics, the purpose of the Encyclical was quite the opposite. To the European Christian Democrat, the tone and direction of this document are such as to give the center political parties a powerful appeal to workers and farmers. The Church has stolen the thunder of the Marxist left by offering generous and understanding programs of social reform.

Because of this approach, the Encyclical is as much pastoral as doctrinal. Those who were looking for innovations in the development of doctrine will not find them here. In the treatment of the problems of developing nations, there is no explicit discussion of land reform as a needed element of change. While the Encyclical shows awareness of new ideas in the area of property rights, it does not find these new factors an occasion for modifying the traditional concept of private property.

On the other hand, Catholics who sought a shift to the right will find little comfort in this majestic document. The thesis that the welfare state is a direct road to communism does not seem to have occurred to Pope John

XXIII. He has no desire to return to the days of rugged individualism, with the state standing by impotently in the face of exploitation, unemployment, and destitution.

He confronts the modern world, with all its complexity, with a sincere desire to accept and Christianize all that is good in it. It is a world characterized by intense social activity. Within the confines of individual states, there is a wide variety of social-welfare programs. There are also measures of economic control, especially those designed to iron out the business cycle.

Outside of state boundaries, we find an immense apparatus of international social, economic, and political bodies. They are engaged in seeking to promote peace and the development of nations that hitherto have lagged behind in economic growth. The Pope specifically mentions the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. He also notes the work of the International Labor Organization, of the same body.

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*Assistant Director of NCWC's Social Action Department, Father Cronin is the author of Social Principles and Economic Life.*

All these intense social activities are accepted and indeed approved as a necessary part of modern life. There are no nostalgic sighs for a simpler society. There is no call for a return to patterns based upon the best elements of the medieval social system. *Mater et Magistra* does not outline any specific blueprint of social reform, although it does summarize the concept of social order presented in *Quadragesimo Anno*.

### Realistic and progressive

Accordingly, we must characterize the new Encyclical as realistic, moderate, and progressive. Within the confines of subsidiarity, it allows for much social experimentation. There is a deep optimism in the Pope's approach. When, for example, he calls for greater labor participation in business management and also in national and international political life, there is implicit trust in the wisdom of labor and its leaders. The acceptance of "socialization" likewise assumes that modern states will show adequate political wisdom.

While the Encyclical is rich in detailed observations and judgments, its lasting greatness may be found in its total approach rather than in details. It portrays an image of the Christian which is truly noble. There is nothing of small-souled nit-picking; no petty fears or criticisms; no trace of isolationism or negativism. Candor forces us to confess that such elements exist within the Church. We have always had our integralists and heresy-hunters. But John XXIII rises above the purely negative and proposes in grand outlines the majesty of a Christian concept of society.

This approach is especially evident

in two of the major topics treated: socialization and aid to developing nations. Socialization, as defined in the Encyclical, refers to a wide variety of social activities that characterize modern society. These include social-welfare action by the state, but the social aspect of the private sector is also analysed.

Socialization has its dangers.

It restricts the range of the individual as regards his liberty of action and uses means, follows methods, and creates an atmosphere which makes it difficult to each one to think independently of outside influences, to work on his own initiative, to exercise his responsibility, to affirm and enrich his personality.

It can create the organization man.

### Socialization

But it need not reduce men to automatons. It is a process subject to the control of man's free will. Hence it is possible to Christianize it; to remove the negative aspects and to enhance its advantages. Two requirements are involved here: that those invested with public authority have a "sane view of the common good," and that intermediary bodies

enjoy an effective autonomy in regard to the public authorities and to pursue their own specific interests in loyal collaboration between themselves, subordinately, however, to the demands of the common good.

What this means in detail is noted in various passages of the Encyclical. The Pope assumes that a central economic body, whether a central bank or a branch of government, will exercise needed monetary controls to prevent inflation and deflation. He assumes a proportional system of taxation. He refers to social insurance, subsidized housing, and government assistance to agriculture. All these developments,



sometimes referred to as the welfare state, can be an acceptable part of modern society.

## World problems

The Encyclical treatment of world problems is equally great-souled. The Pope notes that nations are economically and politically interdependent.

The different political communities can no longer adequately solve their major problems in their own surroundings and with their own forces, even though they be communities which are notable for their high level and diffusion of culture . . . political communities react on each other. It may be said that each succeeds in developing itself by contributing to the development of the other.

It is true that the major outlines of a Christian approach to world problems can be found in the numerous addresses of Pope Pius XII. But they are gathered together, expanded, and issued in an even more solemn form in this Encyclical. What Pius XII explained in general terms, the present Pontiff often makes quite specific.

It is obvious that the solidarity of the human race and Christian brotherhood demand that an active and manifold co-operation be established among the peoples of the world. They demand a co-operation which permits and encourages the movement of goods, capital, and men . . .

Undoubtedly the reference just given is to the European Common Market. But it is given in the form of a general principle precisely because Europe is not the only area that could benefit by economic co-operation and the free movement of capital and labor. If the total output of a nation is low, then social-welfare programs are more devices for sharing poverty than for sharing wealth. Economic and political action are needed to build up the productive base of nations and regions.

More and better production corresponds to a rational need and is also an absolute necessity. However, it is no less necessary and conformable to justice that the riches produced come to be equitably distributed among all members of the political community. Hence effort should be made that social progress proceed at the same pace as economic development.

While the context of the quotation just given is that of aid to developing nations, the principle is equally applicable to nations that already have an industrial base, yet are afflicted with great pockets of poverty. They need both economic growth and social progress.



But the fact that industrial nations have internal needs should not blind them to their obligations to the really poor and underdeveloped people. Several separate statements make this point:

We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples.

The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family imposes upon political communities enjoying abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

Therefore it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods.

The Catholic Association for International Peace should be particularly happy with this call to "educate one's conscience." It has been trying for many years, against disheartening ob-

stacles, to perform this task of educating the Catholic conscience in regard to our international responsibilities.

Among the more specific measures urged are technical assistance and the providing of educational opportunities for advanced study. The Pope also notes with approval the role of private enterprise in providing capital "in countries on the way to development." While endorsing much that has already been done,

we cannot excuse ourselves from pointing out that the scientific, technical, and economic co-operation between the economically developed political communities and those just beginning or on the way to development needs to be increased beyond the present level and it is our hope that such a development will characterize their dealings during the next decades.

Another caution in the Encyclical concerns the dangers of weakening the political independence of nations as a result of foreign aid and of undermining the spiritual values in native cultures through an excessive emphasis on the material and technical. The references to a "new form of colonialism" seem primarily aimed at Iron Curtain countries, but the West can also be on its guard in this matter. And undoubtedly we have made our share of mistakes in the matter of trying to impose our culture in carbon-copy fashion on other peoples.

### Population problem

These warnings apply particularly to the efforts to spread contraceptive birth control measures as means for meeting the population problem. The Encyclical outlines accurately the arguments given by demographers in connection with population growth. Yet it is basically optimistic that the problem can be met.

It notes that at the present moment, viewed on a world scale, there is enough food for all. Moreover,

God in His goodness and wisdom has diffused in nature inexhaustible resources and has given to man intelligence and genius to create fit instruments to master it and to turn it to satisfy the needs and demands of life.

It is true that there are areas in which deficient economic and social organization are barriers to such progress. But here

the true solution is found only in the economic development and the social progress which respects and promotes true human values, individual and social—an economic development and social progress, that is, brought about in a moral atmosphere . . . and in the co-operation, on a world scale, that permits and favors the fruitful interchange of useful knowledge, of capital, and of manpower.



Pope John's treatment of international matters breathes a spirit of Christian brotherhood. It offers a humane alternative to the selfish spirit that has produced such noxious fruits as isolationism, colonial exploitation, and economic imperialism. We are definitely our brothers' keepers. The achievement of world peace and prosperity is to be found in good works and incessant and sacrificing activity.

In the area of labor problems, the main papal concern is twofold: a just wage for the worker, and a greater degree of labor participation in the

enterprise, as well as in national and international economic decisions.

### **Wages and unions**

The Encyclical outlines the complex demands of the common good in regard to wages. It notes that wage levels should be set so as "to provide employment to the greatest number of workers, to take care lest privileged classes arise, even among the workers . . . ." It is also considered desirable that employees of medium-sized and large-sized enterprises "be able to participate in the ownership of the enterprise itself." This is advanced as one method of preventing inequitable distribution of income produced by such firms.

Another reason for worker participation in the enterprise stems from the demands of human dignity,

an innate exigency in human nature which demands that when men are engaged productively in activity, they have the opportunity of employing their own responsibility and perfecting their own being. Wherefore, if the structures, the functioning, the surroundings of an economic system are such as to compromise human dignity . . . or if they systematically blunt in them the sense of responsibility, or constitute in any way an impediment to expressing their own personal initiative, such an economic system is unjust, even if, by hypothesis, the wealth produced through it reaches a high standard and this wealth is distributed according to the criteria of justice and equity.

To say that the above is a strong passage is an understatement. A productive economic system that pays its workers well is still unjust, if it blunts in them the opportunity to exercise initiative and develop personality. To avoid this danger, small business and firms consisting of craftsmen should be

protected and encouraged. Co-operatives can help such persons and all workers on family-type farms. The warm papal endorsement of co-operatives is particularly significant, since previous social encyclicals and addresses did not give much attention to this form of economic enterprise.

In the same context of developing personal initiative, Pope John goes far beyond Pope Pius XI in endorsing worker participation in the activity of the enterprise.

This means that the workers may have their say in and may make their contribution to the efficient running and development of the enterprise.

The authority of management must be safeguarded, but workers are not to be simple and silent performers, without any possibility of bringing to bear their experience, entirely passive in regard to decisions that regulate their activity.



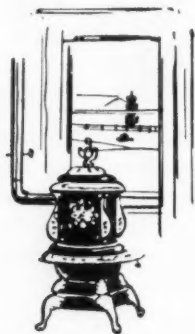
When workers are organized into unions, they should not confine their activities merely to collective bargaining. The reason for this is that decisions affecting individual plants are made by public authorities "or by institutions that act on a world-wide, regional, or national scale." Hence it is appropriate that in such bodies,

the workers also or those who represent their rights, demands, and aspirations should have their say.

In the American context, these passages on labor are particularly significant. Some of our publicists of the right have

been portraying the Vatican as opposed to the union shop, demanding Christian unions in the United States, and generally eager to curb the activities of organized labor. By contrast, *Mater et Magistra* takes a totally positive and constructive attitude towards workers, their rights and aspirations, and towards the trade unions that represent them. While it lauds Christian unions, it also has words of praise for Catholics in "other professional groups and associations of workers." And in the same context it praises the work of the International Labor Organization.

We note these points, not for any petty desire for personal vindication or endorsement of the work of the Social Action Department, but simply to try to remove the scandal of division caused by intemperate attacks based on distorted interpretations of papal messages. And, if our native integralists are minded to play down the authority of this Encyclical, they might reread paragraph 20 of *Humani Generis*.



A class of workers given special consideration in the Encyclical is the almost universally afflicted class of farmers. The Pope deplores the fact that so many workers leave the farm and immigrate to the city. While he lauds the moral and spiritual values of farm-

ing, especially in the family-type farm, he also notes the necessity for economic and social changes to make farming attractive and profitable.

There are numerous detailed suggestions, such as social insurance as a means for redistributing income in favor of farmers, price regulation, progressive taxation, credit unions and co-operatives, education and other means to increase efficiency of production, and even political action by farmers. Governments should see that roads, health services, educational facilities, and the like be such as to make rural living attractive to modern workers.

The Encyclical has a truly beautiful description of farm life as a vocation and a mission.

In the work on the farm the human personality finds numerous incentives for self-development, for enrichment, for growth even in regard to spiritual values. Therefore it is a work which is conceived and lived both as a vocation and a mission. It can be considered as an answer to God's call to actuate His providential plan in history. It may also be considered as a noble undertaking to elevate oneself and others and as a contribution to human civilization.

But these spiritual possibilities may not be realized if farming is permitted to remain a depressed and neglected area of economic life.

Although the Encyclical goes to great length in treating private property, the summary here will be comparatively brief. It is reported that there were divisions of opinion on this subject on the part of experts consulted by the Holy See. Undoubtedly some urged the view that property is no longer the main source of security in more developed nations. Pensions rights and social security are more important to many persons. Likewise the skill and experience

of the worker are more productive for him than are property rights.

While these points are duly noted, the Pope insists upon the basic character of private property as the sound foundation of social order. He reiterates the insistence of Pope Pius XI that the social as well as the individual character of property be considered. And he makes his own the views of his immediate predecessor than an effective distribution of property is an imperative need. Thus understood, property is a source of freedom, initiative, and security.

Many more points could be noted in commenting upon *Mater et Magistra*. But allowance must be made for the problems of editors, who prefer that their articles be somewhat shorter than book length. The sampling given should be more than enough to encourage the reader to a profound and careful study of the document itself.

One concluding question might be raised. Was the public relations aspect of the Encyclical handled so as to produce maximum effect? The answer must be a qualified yes. Newspaper coverage was excellent. But there was little subsequent reaction in this country, in the form of thoughtful editorials or comments by columnists. Editorials were general and a bit perfunctory. And there seemed to be almost no follow-up apart from the Catholic press.

There appear to be two reasons why the secular press did not go more deeply into this great social document. One is that the translation was often stilled and even unintelligible to a reader not versed in philosophy and theology. It was also inaccurate at some points. The second difficulty is that there was no possibility of preparing for the press in

advance the type of selection, explanation, and even interpretation that would have stimulated discussion and commentary.

Perhaps at some future time advance copies of major social encyclicals could be made available to the national bishops' organization in various countries. Experts in the social field could study the document, under oath of secrecy, and prepare material for the secular press. This could then be released at the same time that the Encyclical is officially released in Rome. In this manner, the press would have adequate background information for proper appreciation and interpretation of the document.

But these are minor flaws. The main point, and in this we rejoice, is that Catholic social thinkers have clear and definite guidance, as well as warm inspiration, in facing the complex problems of the modern world. The whole world will be profoundly grateful to His Holiness for an extraordinarily moving Encyclical.

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"THIS IS A new season, a new epoch, in the history of mankind." These words reflect the supreme confidence of the Communist Party, USA, as it envisions "the inevitable triumph of socialism." They also underscore the basic fact that communism today poses a serious challenge to this nation's destiny. The followers of Marxism-Leninism are fiercely determined that their system of government will replace democracy. These conspirators will stop at nothing to further their evil aims.

To merely call communism evil, or a threat, however, is not enough. It is important that we know what this threat constitutes—why we describe communism as something totally undesirable. Just what is its true nature? Its appeal? Its tactics? What can we as responsible citizens do to effectively combat this danger?

Since its inception some one hundred years ago, communism has made giant strides. Today, one third of the world's population knows the terror of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," while one fourth of the earth's surface is under the heavy yoke of communism. A total of over 36,000,000 Party members in 86 countries—including our own United States—are working feverishly for the triumph of communism. Communism is more than a political or economic doctrine. It penetrates all segments of society—religious, educational, and social, as well. No aspect of human life is immune from its all-encompassing demands. Communism insists upon the total allegiance of the individual.

Let's consider for a moment the basic ideological premises of communism, the ideas which underlie its false claim as the "wave of the future." Here we see that communism has an explanation for the origin of the universe, the begin-

...day-to-day mass,

# THE

nings of life and the movement of history—all contrary to our historic Judaic-Christian concepts. The communist explanation of the universe and the development of man is materialistic. There is no supernatural force directing or controlling the world and our destiny. Nature is in a continual process of development, however: "The laws of that development have not been ordained by God and do not depend on man's will. They are intrinsic in nature itself. . . ."

The communists insist that human life, like the rest of the universe, has emerged from the constant interplay of natural elements. "Man is only a particle of multiform nature, and consciousness is a property, a faculty, of man," according to the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. "The ability to think, characteristic of man, is the product of a long process of evolution in the organic world." Mental activity is a function of the brain, "a reflection of the material world." The history of mankind is a materialistic process controlled by the economic factor. The class struggle is spreading steadily and surely—conflict which will eventually lead to the full flowering of communism as the classless society. The law of economic determinism directing the march of historic



revolutionary work is the major task of Party."

# COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

J. EDGAR HOOVER

events makes this inevitable. This, say the communists, is the "correct" view of the world and of mankind.

In the communist philosophy, religion is regarded as a falsehood, a lie, a deception. To communists, religion—particularly Christianity—is "reactionary philosophy." Ruling classes use religion as an instrument to exploit the great masses of people and keep them in subjection. The people are lulled into passive acceptance of all social injustices and meek submission to authority. Religion must, therefore, be discredited and its influence brought to nil. It must be dismissed as a superstitious relic left over from the days of primitive man. Scientific discoveries have made "obsolete" any supernatural explanation of the universe.

Furthermore, the moral code emanating from religious concepts is irrelevant to the communist social order. The ideal of brotherly love and the principle of the Golden Rule are only sentimental fallacies which interfere with the advancement of communism. They are "bourgeois weaknesses," most impractical for the continuation of the conspiracy. No communist must ever be permitted to allow compassion for others to deter him from carrying out communist objectives. Morality to the com-

munist is merely expediency. In the words of Lenin, "We repudiate all morality that is taken outside of human, class concepts . . . . We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle . . . ." In the name of communism, lies, trickery, terror—even murder—are justifiable. Such acts are right or wrong depending upon whether they help or hinder the cause.

These ideological premises represent the platform from which the communists launch their attack upon society. That is why all of us need to know more about the philosophic base of Marxism-Leninism.

In our own country, the Communist Party, USA, is an integral part of this conspiracy. This group, which insists on calling itself a "political party in the American tradition," is rabidly dedicated to this alien ideology so diabolically opposed to the American system. Party members vehemently uphold the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. To them, the communist philosophy is "a guide to action," a doctrine which they believe

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will direct them toward the goal of communism in the United States.



Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, recently set forth the current role of the Party in a high-level policy statement in the February, 1961, issue of the Party's theoretical journal, *Political Affairs*. With unwavering confidence, he asserts:

a fundamental law of social development that cannot be changed, blocked, or bypassed, is that today it is the world system of socialist states . . . that is becoming the dominant force and therefore tends to determine the main content and direction of the historical development of society.

Hall gloatingly adds that "imperialism" is rapidly disintegrating in the face of rising socialism, and reiterates that reactionary forces cannot halt the advance of communism. "Capitalism is a doomed system."

### **Full commitment**

As Party leader in this country, Hall emphasizes the importance of urgent, fanatical effort by Party members on a day-to-day basis. Full commitment of members is an essential ingredient of communism: the constant working day and night, year after year. "The need for militant, forward-looking leadership and organization of these struggles will become ever more urgent." Party members must help ignite the revolution, help light the embers of revolutionary upheaval. Those "who abstain from struggle or just wait for it to take place spontaneously" are not doing their share. Nor, he declares, can the Party realize its goal if it merely engages in "spout-

ing phrases" condemning capitalism. Rather, as Lenin pointed out, "day-to-day, mass revolutionary work" is the major task of the Party.

The Communist Party, USA, claims that now it is a force more virile and revolutionary than ever before. The Party is growing in depth and breadth, according to Hall. "Let there be no mistake about that! We are now entering a new stage—a stage of the unfolding of the mass work and influence of the Party, of its upbuilding politically, organizationally, and numerically."

### **The mass work**

Hence, the need of establishing and maintaining close ties with the masses. The Party must appear to be sympathetic with the needs and aspirations of the people: "Without thus identifying ourselves with the masses we can only be an isolated, meaningless sect." This means personal contacts at the "grass-roots level"—with the people in the shops, in organizations, in all walks of life. It means working closely with "the proletariat" and "educating" it as to where its real interests lie.

Most important is the tactic of infiltration. The placing of communists in organizations—such as civic, religious, and economic groups, as well as labor unions—is an effective technique in spreading "the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism." The dictum of Lenin that communists must "learn to penetrate into prohibited premises where the representatives of the bourgeoisie exercise influence over the workers" is taken most seriously by the Party.

The communists, of course, publicly boast that their purpose in "working in" organizations is to fight for higher wages, more jobs, peace, civil rights. Actually, they use these issues merely as subterfuges to advance the cause of

communism. Listen to the words of Hall:

The problem is not one of sending people into organizations. Many are already there. The central question for us is to help our members, our clubs, our leaders, to carry on political activities where they are . . . .

The "political activities" to which he refers are none other than the furthering of communism!

The concept of the "united front" is a standard Party technique, the "process of joining hands, of uniting forces in struggle around specific issues." This tactic is designed to secure the support of noncommunists for Party aims. Non-communist groups are thus manipulated in connection with issues of the day. "The united front must be a way of life" for the Party as a whole, Hall insists. This is important, he adds, in order "that when an issue does appear we will be in a position to deal with it as a natural event in the course of our regular relations with our unions, churches, or neighborhood organizations."



Note Hall's inclusion of churches in his "united front" plans. Though the Communist Party, USA, is based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching of atheism and antireligion, it is well aware of the danger of open attack on religious institutions in this nation. Hence, communists use subtle tactics in attempting to negate religion. They seek to give the impression that the communists and churches have similar views on social,

economic and political issues. "After all, we are interested in making this world a better place in which to live," the communists proclaim in honeyed tones. "Why, then, can't we work together to solve the problems of society?"

No mention is made that within the Party there is absolutely no tolerance of religion. New recruits are taught to give up their old "superstitious beliefs," to free themselves from "spiritual bondage." Religion is explained as a "bourgeois remnant" which must be eradicated and replaced with a "scientific" outlook on life. Only then can a person become a true communist man.

We owe a debt of deep gratitude to the clergymen of this nation—men who unflinchingly battle against this conspiracy. The communists, recognizing religion as the most potent enemy, are always endeavoring to gain influence within the church. In a few instances, unfortunately, they have succeeded in influencing clergymen. However, the vast majority of our clergy are completely loyal and are resisting the attempts of the communists to delude them. To my mind, no group in America has a more key role to play in fighting communism than our clergy. Very truly they stand on the front line of this giant ideological battle.

Most vital is the Party's program among young people, the working with youthful minds to influence them toward communism. "We must develop, train and draw in younger forces." In pursuing this aim, the communists recognize the importance of the press in spreading the Marxist-Leninist philosophy among young readers. Just last fall a monthly publication bearing the title *New Horizons for Youth* was launched. This magazine is described in

glowing terms as a "progressive" forum for discussing the issues confronting the young people. Significantly, nowhere is it stated that the editor of *New Horizons*, Daniel Rubin, is none other than the national youth director of the Communist Party, USA. Consistently, this publication viciously criticizes this nation's institutions and parrots the communist line.



Also in connection with stepped-up activities in the youth field, communists are busily promoting the establishment of organizations described as "socialist-oriented." During the New Year holiday a committee was formed in Chicago with this purpose in mind. The organization, which calls itself the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, is fully supported and guided by the communists. The group's plans call for establishment of branches on college campuses.

The communist program is especially directed toward college groups. Here the Party is today conducting an aggressive campaign for the allegiance of the minds of our young people. They view with optimism their possibilities among students. Young people's interest in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the communists insist, is definitely increasing. To further develop this interest, the Party sends high-level officials on speaking tours to college campuses. One of-

ficial recently boasted that he had spoken at eighteen different colleges and universities in the past six months. His topics ranged from the Party's position in this country to "the meaning of freedom." The communists carefully exhort students not to look on the Party as a foreign instrumentality, as an agency of Soviet Russia—which it actually is. They want to deceive students into believing that the Party is wholly "American"—in other words to make an atheistic, alien, undemocratic organization into an American institution. Hypocrisy seldom has known higher limits of deceit.

The question now arises, a most vital question: What can we as Americans do to combat this atheistic conspiracy?

Most important, we must be informed of the nature of this ideology and its method of operating. We must be cognizant of the fact that the communist appeal and glowing promises have lured far too many unwitting persons into accepting its philosophy.

We must counteract communism with the strengths of our democracy—its history, traditions and heritage. We must be able to effectively contrast the ideals of justice and liberty with the sordid history of communist societies. The pages of this nation's history are replete with practical lessons in the struggle for freedom. Each of us can learn much from them.

Obviously, the exclusive use of lofty phrases upholding democracy is not enough. Our daily actions must make the democratic heritage come alive. Aggressive citizenship—participation in community affairs, exercising the right to vote, careful selection of those who represent us in government—is a vital factor in making the American system work.

As a nation founded on the precepts of justice, equality and freedom, we must always respect the dignity of the human being and the rights of the individual. Never must we permit bigotry and prejudice to sap our society of its strength. Unfortunately, the fear of communism has sometimes led to unfair attacks on those whose views differ from the majority. Honest dissent must not be made the target of hysterical and reckless charges. Witch hunts, smears, and character assassinations have no place in this nation; such activities merely play into communist hands and serve to confuse and divide our society.

Our Judaic-Christian tradition is a mighty bulwark in repelling the attempts of communists to capture the minds of men. Our Founding Fathers, as men of God, sought and knew the guidance of the Divine Creator. We, too, as Christians, must undergird our daily lives with spiritual truths. Our enthusiasm and commitment must surpass the fervor of the communists. Our words and deeds must be dynamic witnesses for the faith we proclaim. The lessons of Holy Scripture can indeed be effective guides for action as we face the problems of our mid-twentieth century world.

The communists believe that this generation will know a "new epoch in the history of mankind," an epoch which will see the final triumph of communism, not only in America, but throughout the world. Must this prediction come true? Shall we allow communism to turn back the pages of history to barbarism, or shall we, as Americans and as Christians, work to bring in a truly new epoch—a season of brotherly love, tolerance, and the advancement of mankind to ever higher levels of human dignity and freedom?

The answer lies with us.

SEPTEMBER, 1961

## An International Symposium

# Duties to Underdeveloped Countries

### **The Argument**

Leon H. Janssen (*Rotterdam*)

### **The Fires of Envy**

Colin Clark (*Oxford*)

### **Distribution of Wealth**

John M. Paul (*Washington*)

### **Terms Need Analysis**

Thomas H. Mahony (*Boston*)

### **Problems in International Law**

David Johnson (*London*)

### **Call for World Economic Community**

Philip S. Land (*Rome*)

### **Politics as Primary**

Paul Crane (*Oxford*)

### **Economics as Primary**

Virgil Salera (*Washington*)

### **Role of Voluntary Agencies**

Edward E. Swanstrom (*New York*)

### **Social Function of Ownership**

James L. Vizzard (*Des Moines*)

### **New Orientation of Economics**

Francesco M. Vito (*Milan*)

### **The Modalities of Aid**

Philippe Laurent (*Paris*)

### **Postscript**

Edward Duff (*Saint Louis*)

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**Institute of Social Order**

3908 Westminister Place

Saint Louis 8, Missouri

**B**EFORE LEAVING for Villanova College in September 1935, I experienced two dramatic events. One was meeting Father Paul Hanley Furfey, that blazing light from Catholic University and author of *Fire on the Earth*, who came to Dorothy Day's House of Hospitality to give greater depth to the *Worker* movement and to reinspire the maturing teen-agers of the depression with a new appreciation of their Faith and of their Church. I never really ever recovered from Paul Hanley Furfey!

The second was a summer visit to Newark with Tom Barry to peddle copies of the *Catholic Worker* as one of our many chores for Dorothy. Tom and I were busily hawking the *Worker* in downtown Newark, as I remember it, when an Irish cop approached us.

"You boys have a badge to sell papers?" he asked.

Tom looked at me.

"No," he said to the copper. "You see, it is a religious paper. We don't sell it for profit."

The policeman was no longer even friendly.

He tore a copy of the paper from Tom's hand.

"It is a Catholic paper," Tom argued, playing on the faith of the Irishman.

"Mabbee it's Catholic," the Irishman replied with his deep brogue, "but it says '*Worker*' and that means you two must be darty Communists." Pushing us before him, he said: "Okeh, to the station house. The Sergeant will decide about you two." At once, Tom and I were sure we would be put in jail. Naturally, it seemed to be a wonderful opportunity.

At the station house the Sergeant patiently listened, thumbed through the

# THE

paper. He was perplexed by the word "Worker" in the title and the various representations of Christ in the woodcuts of Adé Bethune which adorned the *Worker*. The Sergeant obviously was suspicious; on the other hand, he didn't want to arrest two Catholic lads if they were really selling the papers for charity. Finally, the Sergeant spoke: "Well, you two can go. But don't sell any more in Newark."

We raced back to New York to report the scrape to Dorothy Day. The incident occasioned a long talk about the need for a lay Catholic magazine for intellectuals, one which could provide the intellectual framework for social Catholicism so that in the future a Catholic interested in unions and workers would not be dubbed a "Communist" by his own kind.

Both of these events played an important role in my life at Villanova. At this point I should add that through Tom Barry and Dorothy I had met a young Irish-American, Norman McKenna, who also had become interested in Dorothy's idea that somehow we found a monthly, radical Catholic magazine dedicated to the lay intellectual who was trying to understand the social message of the Four Gospels. Norman was as quiet and as reserved

The founding of *The Christian Front*

# WAY IT WAS: 3

RICHARD L-G. DEVERALL

as the traditional Englishman but he had a depth of spiritual presence and was fired by a sense of mission. Anyhow, we had had several talks with Dorothy about the idea of a magazine but the thing that troubled us was financing it. None of us had a cent; indeed, thanks to Dorothy, we scorned money. I asked Dorothy once about how we would pay the printer. "Don't worry about that. You pray and God will pay the printer," she assured us.

"But suppose the printer is not a religious one," I parried.

Dorothy never was without a reply. "God will pay the printer."

Concurrently, Tom and Norman had been in contact with a young New Englander, Graham Carey, who was intensely interested in the association of craftsmanship and art with religion; he was propagandizing the very basic concept that the craftsman-artist is able to pray through his work and to deepen his daily spiritual life through the art he practiced. In the world in which we then lived—the non-union Ford plant and its inhuman speed-up and police supervision was a dramatic example—the mass production worker not only could not find his dignity and his faith through his work; on the contrary, the work provided a materialistic

atmosphere and sometimes led to insanity or suicide. Carey was interested in our ideas, particularly when Barry talked about the evils of the machine and the glory of hand-setting a magazine as a demonstration of Christian courage and the expression of religion through the art of printing. (At that time Barry had me convinced that a linotype was an evil instrument!)

When I left for Villanova that September 1935, I was filled with Dorothy, Paul Hanley Furfey and the project of inaugurating a magazine. Norman was to be the editor, I was to try and raise funds, Tom would be in charge of production; the three of us, it was agreed, would all edit each other's copy and whatever literary contributions we received. We were all teen-agers of the depression era. That experience and the *Catholic Worker* helped mold our minds—although, quite naturally, Norman was quite different from both Tom and myself and I, for that matter, quite different from either of them. Norman was to work at his home in the Bronx; Tom to print the proposed magazine in his basement home in Newark; and I was to work in whatever room I could find at Villanova College. As Norman was to remark a few decades later, his life became one of tele-



grams and special delivery letters from me in Philadelphia.

After I settled down at Villanova, I was busy night after night, typing interminable personal letters to everyone from Fr. John A. Ryan to Fr. Ligutti out in Iowa, explaining what we hoped to do as of January 1, 1936 and asking for a subscription in advance. Since we had no idea of trying to make money, we banned advertising (who would have given us ads anyway?) and we charged \$1 per year for 12 copies. Later, when we ruefully got around to costing the price of a year's subscription, we found that it was far more than one dollar. Nevertheless, we had set the price at a dollar and that was that.



During the fall of 1936, while I worked in the chemistry laboratory and followed classes on the side, we solicited articles for the first issue of what we decided to call *The Christian Front*. Graham Carey was generous financially and journalistically. In fact, if I remember correctly, he financed a printing press and all of the type and other things needed to hand-set and print a magazine. By now, Tom was obsessed with the idea of completely hand-printing the magazine and Norman and I agreed. Looking back at it a quarter of a century later, I now realize we were absolutely the most romantic reactionaries then in existence. Meanwhile, as we were Catholic laymen, Norman had somehow secured the "no

objection" of the New York Archdiocese so that we could assert on the masthead of the first issue of *The Christian Front* that we were a lay Catholic monthly. (After the New York Archdiocesan officials saw a few copies of the magazine, we were summarily asked to get out of the area. We moved to Newark; Tom was summoned by the Bishop, who demanded to know, "And what is wrong with Italian Fascism?" We knew but we chose not to argue the point. So we moved to the Archdiocese of Philadelphia where, under the unofficial patronage of the Augustinians, we remained until the spring of 1939. But more of the final axing later.)

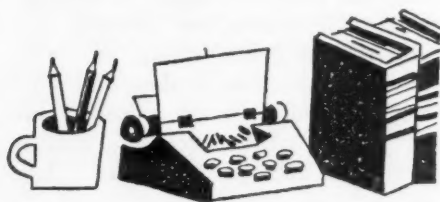
We received encouragement from the most bizarre set of persons imaginable, encouragement and often checks far larger than the one dollar we requested. A Catholic layman in Epinal, France, sent us a large donation because, he said, if the Catholics in America were finally to publish a *literate* magazine on social problems, he wanted to help them. Some Bishops, many Monsignori and people like John Moody of Wall Street sent us funds—and generously.

### The first issue

Meanwhile, while I drove my roommate at Villanova almost mad with the incessant typing of letters, Tom Barry was the treasurer and also in charge of production. As the days and weeks went by for Tom to hand-set and print the first 16-page issue, I think even Tom began to surmise that there might be a bit of holy water on a linotype. I forget now how many copies we printed the first time; my impression is that the last bits (the book reviews) were set



on a linotype; most of the issue, however, was hand-set in a beautiful Bodoni sans-serif type, clearly marking *The Christian Front* as a new departure in Catholic journalism.



I think Tom took care of the first mailing; shortly after, I had charge of that end of the production and, with the aid of a group of enthusiastic young collegians at Villanova, used to bundle up each issue and have it in the mail in no time at all. Unfortunately, the complete files of this period of the magazine were burned many years ago. (When I left for the Army in 1943, I turned all of my files over to a printer friend in Detroit. In 1945 I returned to ask him to let me remove them. He stuttered: "We thought you would be killed during the war so we tossed everything into the furnace long ago . . .")

Dom Virgil Michel, Graham Carey, Fr. John A. Ryan and other notable Catholic writers became regular contributors to the magazine. In a matter of months Norman and I decided that while hand-setting the *Front* was a wonderful idea, saying a Hail Mary as you picked up a piece of type was no way to print a monthly magazine. So, we regretfully parted with Tom who, as I remember, took the printing press and all of the type. With Tom went our "angel," Graham Carey. He helped us later; he continued to write a most

interesting series on Art and the Christian (it would make better reading today as now more would understand what Graham was trying to say); but Norman and I faced the problem of fulfilling our obligations to the readers—with virtually no funds on hand.

Norman worked hard and well in getting subscriptions; I, on my part, hungry and underfed, did the same. We had been befriended from the start by the Secretary of the Catholic Association of International Peace and the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. I got down to Washington during the Christmas holidays in 1936 (one could then get room and board near Catholic University for \$2.00 per day) and Bess Sweeney of the CAIP rendered us yeoman's service in ideas, in ways to raise money, and in general in sustaining our enthusiasm. Bess I shall never forget. Then there was Father John A. Ryan. No matter how busy he was in those days, when I rapped on the door of his office in the then-rickety NCWC Building, he would cry out, "Come in!" and, when I pushed open the door, there he was, chubby and smiling, collarless, turning around in his swivel chair as he pushed the glasses back on his forehead. Father (later Monsignor) Ryan had been a pioneer in trying to articulate the social gospel in the American socio-economic environment, an effort which caused some of his fellow clergy and laymen to call him "the socialist priest!" Hours went by during these visits; books were handed to me to read on the way home to Villanova; names were supplied, for Father Ryan always did what he could to help us. I remember once he wanted me to see a Senator to discuss our problems.

When I walked into the office of Senator Mahoney (Father Ryan had merely indicated that a Catholic editor was coming), he looked at me as if I were the office boy. After a few experiences like that (I was 21 then), I grew a moustache. The assistant in the Social Action Department, Father Raymond McGowan, also arranged appointments for me. I was invited to many meetings and conferences; I met top people in the Department of Labor and, as with Father Ryan, more books were showered on me since I was weak in reading economics.

### NCWC support

Many people have criticized the NCWC for its alleged ineffectualism in this way or that. It could be true to an extent. But in my experiences in those days, the social action leadership of the NCWC was 50 years ahead of the attitude of the American clergy and certainly 50 years ahead of that of the laity. Maybe that was why they welcomed the "radical Catholic" group who had established *The Christian Front*. *America* and the *Commonweal*, too, welcomed us to the fold. Within two years, however, *America* wrote me off editorially as an upstart; and in five years the *Commonweal* attacked me as an agent of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis!

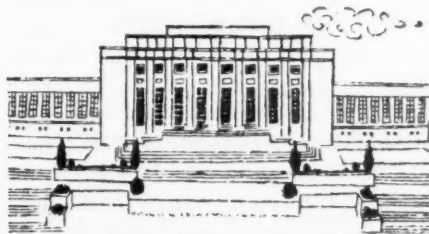
The mail of *The Christian Front*, received by both Norman in the Bronx and myself at Villanova, grew in a startling fashion. Our magazine had been noted in the Catholic weekly press in the United States. We began to get letters from members not only of the American hierarchy but also from Bishops and Archbishops in England, Australia, India and other countries. The *Catholic Herald* of London used our articles from time to time,

the *Catholic Digest* reprinted steadily, and in Vienna a distinguished Catholic journal, *Schoenere Zukunft*, went wild over *The Christian Front* because (again) it was a *literate* lay Catholic magazine from the steppes of Philadelphia. Our income had certainly improved during the spring of 1936, subscriptions coming in along with generous donations; yet the amount spent on postage stamps became a sizeable item: our correspondence was killing us.

I remember an Irish-Catholic priest in Philadelphia who had subscribed but, having read a reference to "Calvinist Catholics," wrote an irate letter asking the 21-year old pundit at Villanova to define the term. I did as best as I could, throwing St. Thomas and all the rest at him, and, as was our wont in the *Worker* movement, I signed my letters, "Yours in Christ." The priest was outraged and at once demanded to know what right I had to use the idiom of a Catholic clergyman. I told him we were lay priests and the fight was on. The correspondence with this good Father went on for many months—pages and pages of it. I never met him but he did me more good than he knew in making me sit down and think through many things. I often feared he thought we were anti-clerical (as did many others). He was a good friend and is one reason why I have spent half of my life with priests.

During the late spring, a young Filipino at the College, rich and well-intentioned, had become interested in *The Christian Front*. Later, he offered me a staggering amount of money if I would get Norman to agree that we run "canned" atrocity articles on the horrors of the Spanish Civil War along with

"the most horrible atrocity pictures we can find." Alfredo was to remain in the United States that summer. He wanted to travel, he told me, but he also wanted to make it a socially useful summer. His mother had been reading *The Christian Front* and had sent in many subscriptions for leading Filipino politicians, bankers and so forth. We finally agreed that he would hire a car and we would first visit the *Catholic Worker* in Pittsburgh, then a Catholic social action conference in Cleveland and, after that, drive across to see Niagara Falls and on to Toronto to visit Friendship House and the Baroness de Hueck. The trip was then to be across the Lake to Buffalo, where we had an invitation from a Polish Catholic priest who wanted to help us get subscriptions, to Rochester to meet friends from Villanova and back to the college.



He considered the trip an experience in Catholic Action and I thanked God for the gift. We arrived in Pittsburgh, as I remember, to meet Fathers Charles Owen Rice and Carl Hensler. Almost at once, Fr. Hensler announced: "I'm the light here, and Charlie is the heat." They were a strange team and, with the help of Bishop Boyle, were evangelizing the workingmen. They had the *Catholic Worker* underway in Pittsburgh and were also agitating in some of the Catholic colleges. They talked long and loud about the right of

workers to organize and the fact that a Negro is also a human being. In most Catholic circles in those days both ideas were clearly "communistic" and certainly not the sort of thing a decent Catholic priest would say in public. But they had Bishop Boyle behind them and that was that.

### "Evangelizing"

From Pittsburgh we reached Cleveland where we were allowed to set up a small booth and solicit subscriptions at the Catholic social action meeting—or maybe it was the Mission Crusade convention. The only thing I remember well is that we met another young fellow of like mind, Bud Taggart (now Monsignor Taggart of the Wilmington Diocese), who took to *The Christian Front* like a duck to water. Once we met, we were together day and night, although I think Bud got stuck with more than his share of the bills for the wonderful German dishes we ate. We made a killing in terms of subscriptions; and, when we left, Bud was not only a friend but invited me to come to his campus, Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Maryland, to evangelize the students and pick up some subscriptions.

Incidentally, it was this approach of "evangelizing" the students and laymen in general that later got us in trouble with some elements of the clergy who felt that we were not only invading their area of administration and instruction but—a possibility just as dangerous—we were laymen who because of our attitudes were potentially anti-clerical. You have no idea of how in those days the laity and the clergy were clearly defined and separated: one side did the thinking and the

talking, the other merely paid the bills and asked for absolution. We had been inspired by Pius XI and, I might suggest, had probably done more reading in the field than some of those who called us anti-clerical.

Anyhow, promising to visit Bud when the fall semester began at Mount St. Mary's, we drove up to the Falls and then to Friendship House in Toronto. It was a rare blessing to experience the Catholic warmth and interracial fraternity which was the soul of the work of the Baroness. Alfredo, a lighthearted Filipino who preferred a good dance to study meetings, had become very much impressed and was now so reckless that he even talked of regular attendance at Holy Mass! From there across Lake Erie—we all got sick on the boat—a good visit in Buffalo, more subscriptions, and back to Villanova to help get the September issue of *The Christian Front* ready, straighten out the finances and re-establish the frantic and frenetic correspondence with Norman Mc Kenna in the Bronx.

### Organ of a movement

By the time I came back to Villanova, I had decided that *The Christian Front* would never be a force nor would it be self-supporting, unless we made it the organ of a movement. We could not subsist on the subscriptions of the clergy only. After meeting and talking with Bud Taggart, we agreed that we should develop Catholic "cells" in all the major Catholic colleges and thus lay the base for a young movement of prayer, sacrifice, and action.

In the next installment I believe I should first discuss what *we* thought, Norman and myself, before developing what we did about it.

## Symposium on Humanism

Behind Marxism is a philosophy of what man is and for what he exists. Behind Christianity is also a philosophy of man and his destiny. These two ideas of man are just as much at war as the opposed political or economic systems of the Soviet and of the Christian West.

Moreover, no dream of social order can be practicable unless it is based upon a clear and realistic understanding of what and why man is.

So crucial is this question of man that SOCIAL ORDER devoted an entire double-number (the May-June, 1953 issue) to an exposition of this pivotal question. Copies are still available.

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THE SEARCH FOR THE NEW MAN	<i>H. A. Reinhold</i>
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GOD AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISM	<i>Philip Donnelly</i>
SOCIAL HUMANISM	<i>Edward Duff</i>
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A NEW CHRISTIAN HUMANISM	<i>W. Norris Clarke</i>

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SOCIAL ORDER

# The Problems of Economic Development

JOHN J. MURPHY

**R**ECENT EVENTS have dramatically focused the attention of the world on the fact that the nonindustrial nations are one of the major battlefields of the present international conflict. Though this conflict will take many forms in these areas, it can be safely said that one of the basic ways in which it will be waged will concern the economic development there.

Concern with the economic development of nonindustrial societies is a relatively recent phenomenon. Concentrated intellectual and practical effort devoted to the development of underdeveloped economies has been limited to the time span of less than a generation. Many mistakes, both theoretical and practical, have been made; many more will undoubtedly be made before a clear conception of the problem and of the methods of solving the problem will be arrived at. Thus, it is inappropriate to view these mistakes as being caused by willful stupidity. It is more fruitful to analyze the general situation using these questions as keys:

1. What are the attitudes of the people in the underdeveloped societies

toward the problem of their economic development, and of the rate of that development?

2. What are the most critical problems which are currently hindering the rate of development of these societies?

3. What are the motives for and the effects of the economic assistance being extended to underdeveloped societies by the communist and the noncommunist industrial nations?

In the traditional methodology of the economic profession, I am going to begin by making some assumptions. I am going to assume that though the development of the nonindustrial societies is one of the more complicated problems of our time, it is a problem which is capable of being resolved, at least to the extent that the general welfare of the next generation can be a little better than the general welfare of this generation. I am not going to engage in that fertile pastime of economists and bore you by establishing a model of what is involved. Further, I am

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*The writer is assistant professor of Economics at The Catholic University of America.*

going to proceed on the general position that the problem of developing nonindustrial societies is essentially the problem of providing the majority of the human race with more — more food, more housing, more health, more education, more useful leisure, more respect. This approach has the advantage of moving the problem of economic development out of the exclusive bailiwick of the economist and of placing it in a broader and more accurate setting; that is, as a problem of the development of a society. It also points to the fact that the problem of economic development is not a problem of a particular nation or of a particular region of the world but that it is, instead, still a problem of all societies, including our own. Though ours has been classified as the "Affluent Society," it is well to remember that this affluence is not universal and that we still have much to do within the area of the 50 states.

OUR present concern, however, will be confined to the problem of the economic development of those societies where the mass of the people are not obtaining even the minimum basic things that they require in order to maintain their human dignity. This means that we will be concentrating mainly on people who are non-Caucasian; who are outside of the Judaeo-Christian tradition; who are illiterate in the use of modern techniques, as well as in the formal skills of reading and writing; and who, because they are poorly nourished, clothed, and housed, can expect that their lives will end at 40 and not just begin at that age. These are the people who are caught in, and who are causing, the "revolution of rising expectations."

This revolution expresses itself in relation to economic development in the proposition that these peoples are not only going to develop, but they are going to develop *now*. By their own judgments they have thus rejected the possibility of following the traditional pattern of development through which Western Europe and the United States passed; a pattern which combined outside aid, motivated primarily by normal economic considerations, with internal ingenuity and internal resources, and which was able to operate within a political structure which recognized the primacy of the individual over the state. At least the present leaders of the non-industrial societies believe that the factors affecting their societies either prohibit such a course from promising their people a successful take-off into self-sustained growth or would require, as it did for most of the Western industrial societies, a number of generations before such a stage was reached. Thus, in their view, the traditional pattern of the West must be changed. Inasmuch as these people have decided that they must develop now, they seem resolved that if they cannot so develop under free institutions then they will attempt to so develop under dictatorial institutions. And in the great world conflict of the mid-20th century, the ultimate decision that these nations make will have as profound a repercussion in Moscow or Washington as it will have in Accra or Calcutta. The problem of their economic development, therefore, has become a problem for the major forces in the current world struggle.

The desire of the people of the non-industrial societies for speed in raising their scale of economic activity is par-



tially a function of the fact that a very large segment of the world—a segment which virtually runs in a complete circle around the Northern half of the Northern Hemisphere—is already so economically developed. This developed segment offers proof that it is possible to provide the mass of the people with the “good life,” at least in material terms. This developed segment also offers the prospect of a short cut to reaching this “good life.” The underdeveloped societies know that they do not have to devote effort to solving numerous problems, for these problems have already been solved. All that they have to do is to find ways and means of incorporating, into their own particular environments, the technology, techniques, and economic ideas of the developed segment.



It is necessary to clarify what these people mean by developing fast and by developing now. They are not thinking in terms of reaching the standards of the United States within a five or even a 35-year plan. Only the Soviet Union now sees such visions. The speed that the nonindustrial societies desire is such that it will make consistently visible to the mass of their people a movement forward. It is important to keep this in mind, for it frames the task of development in much more hopeful terms.

There are some other attitudes held in the underdeveloped countries which should be noted. In general, they tend

to look with favor upon what both the Soviet Union and the nations of the Western Alliance have accomplished in the way of economic growth but they see no overriding reason why they could nor why they should precisely try to follow the path of either of these antagonists. In other words, they do not view the economic development of their societies either as inevitably leading to the evolution of communism *à la* the Soviet Union or as the first step on the road to Jeffersonian democracy. Instead, they view the economic development of their nations as some type of moral right in a world which is in part so rich and which in the 20th century has succeeded in devouring such a large portion of the available resources for the primary purpose of extinguishing substantial numbers of the human race. They also look upon the economic development of their nations as *the* problem which should occupy most of their time, effort, and resources; moreover, they view any other obligations as a hindrance to this prime objective.

The American people have misinterpreted these attitudes of the people in the underdeveloped societies. In our provincial way—which to be sure has many advantages—we find it difficult to understand why other nations do not see things precisely as we do. This has caused us over the last decade to believe that either other nations were with us or they were against us; and when the nonindustrial countries failed to place the communist threat as item #1 on their agenda, we assumed that they were against us. Recently, this seems to have changed somewhat: more Americans seem to be aware that the current conflict between the Soviet



Union and the Western Alliance does not necessarily involve polar points toward which every nation must gravitate at this precise moment in history.

Before they reach a plane of self-sustained growth, the nonindustrial societies must surmount many problems. These problems are, in fact, as numerous as the number of experts who have investigated the question of economic development. It seems to me, however, that there are five problems which currently stand out in importance; and I would classify these under the general heads of:

1. The Population Problem;
2. The Education Problem;
3. The Capital Scarcity Problem;
4. The Balance of Payments Problem;
5. The Availability of Markets Problem.

THE population problem involves the strangest of paradoxes in that by increasing the life span of the people in nonindustrial societies, the ability of these people to reach an economic level commensurate with their dignity is made more difficult. The traditional death rates in these societies have been sharply reduced in recent years, as modern medicines and insecticides—the two easiest technological advances to be introduced into these societies—have had their effect. Unfortunately, other forms of technology have not been introduced at as rapid a pace and in general they could not be so rapidly introduced. Thus, it is much more difficult to increase the output of goods and services as fast as we have been able to increase the number of people. This observation is not to be confused with the notion that the world can produce more rice. Americans, of all people, should realize that the ability to produce more food does not automatically

bring with it housing, schools, hospitals or even factories. The day that all of the world goes to bed with a full stomach will be a great day indeed but it will not be the end of the problem of economic development.



The more that these people want does not stop with mere subsistence food. Instead it involves the necessity of increasing the broad base of their economic system. This means that they must have more buildings and dams, more tools and trucks, more laboratories and warehouses, more machinists and clerks and so on and so on. This is where the rapidly rising population tends to press so heavily on available resources. It is at this point that the vicious circle of poverty manifests itself.

THIS brings us to the second problem, that of education. Just over a decade ago it was widely believed that a wholesale transfer of Western technology was the panacea for the illness of economic underdevelopment. This bright hope unfortunately was dispersed by the realities of the situation. We have learned from experience that we cannot mechanically apply the patterns of the advanced nations, however well they have served in the economic development of these regions, in order to bring about the development of other regions. Instead, each society in terms of its own cultural, environmental, and economic conditions must reclaim, re-

define and redirect what has already been discovered. Thus, besides supplying technicians and techniques and technical equipment, we must also make provisions for incorporating these into the indigenous factors if they are to produce the maximum benefit. This means that to introduce successfully the advanced technology of the developed regions we must work *with* the people in these societies. And this, in turn, requires that provision be made for supplying the people in these areas with the requisite skills; skills which range from top management through semi-skilled labor.

THE most widely discussed problem of economic development is the problem of the scarcity of capital—capital in the sense of the economists; that is, as the produced means of production. On this very complicated problem, three brief observations will have to suffice: First, a unit of capital, regardless of its simplicity or complexity, is a useless thing without skilled laborers to operate it, without other forms of capital to complement it, and without a workable market for regulating the flow to it and from it. Second, various types of capital perform various economic functions and, therefore, they cannot be equated in any form whatsoever. This is particularly relevant to the question of whether aid to non-industrial societies should take the form of grants or loans. Finally, the non-industrial societies do not have available internally at this time the capacity to produce the forms of capital which they require if they are going to develop.

This final point is one of the prime reasons that these countries seek aid from the developed nations. That such

would be the case has been recognized since the problem of the economic development of these countries emerged.



What was not so clearly recognized, however, was the magnitude of the capital that these countries would require in order to increase consistently their per capita output. And, not only was the magnitude misjudged but the ability of these countries to purchase capital through the allocation of the earnings that they obtained from their traditional exports was also misjudged. This feature is what is meant by the balance of payments problem.

SINCE 1952 the goods that the underdeveloped countries have had available to exchange have tended to command each year fewer and fewer of the goods that they need in order to develop. This adverse shift in their terms of trade has forced these nations to curtail the importation of food, fiber, and capital, as the recent imposition of stiffer import controls by India so clearly indicates. The tendency of the prices of the commodities that they export to fall relative to the prices of the commodities that they import makes it very difficult for these countries to plan efficiently just what projects they can safely expect to carry out on the basis of their own earning power. Thus these nations have either consistently overestimated what they could do or they have not embarked upon the most efficient projects for fear that within a year or two they would not possess the necessary foreign exchange.

The final problem that I have listed

is closely connected to this balance of payments problem. To survive, these nations have to trade with other nations and, if they are going to develop, this trade is going to have to be in semi-processed and processed goods as well as in the products of the land. In respect to many industries which offer these nations the greatest promise of internal success, they face two obstacles in the international market. One is economic and takes the form of stiff competition from like industries already established in the developed nations. This is a condition which few desire to change. The other, however, is a political problem; this takes the form of stiff cries of cheap labor if the industries of the underdeveloped nations begin to compete successfully with the industries of the developed nations. The developed nations cannot have it both ways. They cannot profess to desire the economic development of the nonindustrial societies and then proceed to prohibit these societies from earning their own way if they succeed in moving along a path of development. This is not an unlimited plea for the need for completely free international trade. But I do believe that it is absolutely necessary for the developed nations to frame their trade policy in such a consistent way that the underdeveloped nations will know where they will find markets if they succeed in developing.

### **Availability of markets**

This problem of the availability of markets has not been given much attention in the discussions of the problem of economic development but, if these nonindustrial societies begin to take-off into self-sustained growth, this question of trade could become, as it has

been in the past, one of the major barriers to international understanding. The only way this will be prevented is to face up to the question now.

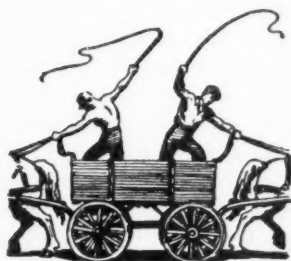
**T**HE underdeveloped countries are currently being aided in their attempts to develop by various industrial nations and the questions are raised: What are the attitudes which have led these nations to engage in extending aid? And, what have been the effects of this aid?

It might be well to begin by emphasizing what American aid has accomplished. In the last 15 years the American people have contributed significantly to the development of many sectors of the world. It has been primarily through the contributions of this nation that the various international agencies have been able to function, and it has been on the basis of our financing that multilateral schemes from the Marshall Plan to the recently established Inter-American Development Bank have offered hope to those in need. In addition, through direct bilateral assistance we have mitigated the problems of numerous nations. Whether we have done enough is one question; whether what we have done is significant is another: to this latter question I think that the answer is that we have significantly aided other nations.

But we are told that the effects of this aid have been nil if not absolutely negative. Here we must ask what we mean by effects. If we mean that we have not won emotional love for us; if we mean that we have not completely swayed the minds of the recipients against the danger of communism; if we mean that we have not developed all (or even any) nation that needed to be developed then, it is true, the effects

are nil or even negative. But are these the effects we should expect? I, for one, think not. Instead, I would view the effects of our aid as a revitalized Europe, as the maintenance of numerous underdeveloped societies as independent nations, as having moved numerous nations a short distance along the road to self-sustained growth, and as having fostered a widespread consensus that we are interested in aiding the nations in need. These effects, I would submit, should not be overlooked or de-emphasized.

As a profit maximizing economist, however, I would also suggest that the effects of our aid are not as significant as they might have been, a basic reason for this situation residing in the attitudes which we as a people have taken toward the aid that we have extended.



It seems to me that the American attitudes exemplify those paradoxical features of our society which result in us being known for our concern for the underdog, for our generosity and for our pragmatic method of acting. We have manifested these attitudes in our approach to the problems of the underdeveloped societies through the sort of quasi-moral intuition which makes us feel that we owe these people something, through the size of the aid which both our public and private sector has extended to these peoples and

through a rather consistent policy of directly correlating our actions with the most recent trend in our conflict with the Soviet Union.

Though most of the leaders of this country, regardless of political affiliation, have at one time or another framed the problem of the development of the nonindustrial societies in terms of an ethical criteria, they have more often than not, proceeded to advocate policies in terms of an immediate pragmatic situation. This is most clearly seen in the eternal attitude of the United States Congress that aid can be extended only one year at a time. As a teacher of international economics, I find it fascinating in revising my notes every year to see that several notations made when I first began to teach rarely need to be revised. They run something like this. February: "the foreign aid program is running into trouble;" March, "the President and other leaders have made desperate pleas for the continuance of the foreign aid program;" May: "the Congress will appropriate roughly what the President requested." Unfortunately this game of "aidsmanship" contains in it several serious drawbacks. For one thing, it implies that the majority of the American people begrudge every grant or loan made, an implication which is far from being accurate. This approach also implies that we are saying: "If you are a good little nation this year, and if it looks like over half of the Congress believes it can be re-elected even if it votes more aid, and if the budget director can finagle his accounting figures to prove that next year's budget will be balanced, then possibly we will continue to aid you to develop." Not only does this attitude irritate; it also

makes it impossible for these nations to develop consistent and effective plans for economic growth. If the economic development of a nation could be brought about solely by a policy of *ad hoc* actions, then this approach would not hinder their advancement. But economic development requires consistent long run policies if it is going to proceed as rapidly and efficiently as possible.

### Superiority complex

The American foreign aid program also is affected by what might be termed our superiority complex. I do not mean a superiority of race or anything of that nature but a superiority born of ignorance of the rest of the world. Because of the lack of knowledge of the people of other lands, Americans tend to feel that our society is at the top, not only in economic achievement, but in everything else, and, therefore, that we really have nothing to learn from other nations. This attitude besides providing us with some "ugly Americans" also provides us with a great deal of apathy. In the last few years much has been made in this country of the idea that we violate the pride of the people of the lesser developed societies by extending them grants instead of loans; it seems to me that we more often violate their pride by our ignorance and by our apathy about what they have already accomplished, especially in non-economic areas.

Another attitude of the American people is shown by their acceptance of the idea that foreign aid is a "give away" program. This concept of "give away" is significant: all too many Americans feel not that we should not aid underdeveloped nations but they

view such aid much as they view giving the local alcoholic a dime for a cup of coffee. The poor beggar can use it but of course he will not use it wisely. Somewhere the experts and the leaders of this nation have failed to convey the idea that economic aid can be wisely allocated and consequently can bring significant future rewards to the recipients—and very probably to America as well. And by rewards I do not mean just the containment of communism or even an undying irrational love for America but the rewards which can be expected from a world of vigorous independent nations.

A final attitude that I would mention is the obsession of the American people with the crises caused by communist beliefs and actions. It is not at all implied that communism is not a danger or that it should not be a major concern of our people; on the other hand, to make it our only concern seems to me to border on suicide. But in the matter of economic development this often appears to be what we have done. Korea, Viet Nam, Cuba, the Congo, these have been the spurs to new policies, to new forms of aid. As the London *Economist* so caustically put it, the American attitude seems to be that "a bank a day will keep the Russians away." Actions based solely or even primarily upon our obsession with the communist menace often have resulted in the impression that we really are not interested in the economic development of the nonindustrial societies and that, if only the big, bad bear of the Soviet Union would play on the steppes of Asia, we would leave these people to sink in their own poverty.

If our economic aid is to be most effective, we must act as if we believe



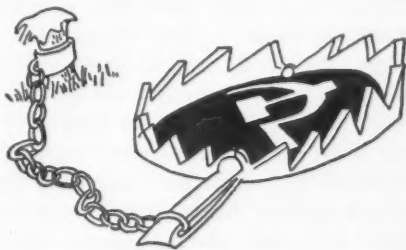
that we are trying to help the nonindustrial societies because we are concerned about their well being and not because we are afraid that tomorrow the Soviets might begin to woo them.

**I**N the last few years, as the communists have moved in a major way into the arena of economic aid, our foreign aid policies have become more closely correlated with our obsession with the communist menace. We have even reached the point where the impression is wide-spread that in handling economic aid the communists are much wiser, more knowing, more effective and are gaining greater benefits than we. Without underestimating the positive aspects of the communist economic aid program, these simplified generalizations are open to some very serious qualifications. But before noting some of these, permit me the intellectual folly of trying to outline what may be the basic communist motivations in aiding the development of the nonindustrial societies.

Here there is a parallel with the American attitude. In terms of their own morality, the communist leaders speak of the right of the underdeveloped people to a better life and of the duty of "People's Democracies" to aid them. Communist actions are often of a quite different caliber. With the major exception of the aid extended to India, most of the communist aid has been in response to changing events in the conflict between them and the capitalist nations. In Egypt, Iceland, Indonesia, Cuba and, most recently, the Congo, the communists have entered with aid after a rupture had taken place between these nations and the Western Alliance. It does not seem to

be out of line to view these actions as being motivated more by the desire of the communists to widen the breach in relations between these countries and the West than by a sincere desire to help these people develop. And if the leaders of the underdeveloped nations have qualms about the political motivation of American aid, they have just as many qualms about the political motivations of the communist aid.

That communist aid is often politically motivated is also seen by some other factors. In fact, it might be claimed that the communist embarked on extending economic aid primarily for political reasons. In the era of Stalin, when the Soviets refused to allow even ballet dancers to go abroad, the actions of the West in such things as Point Four and the United Nations Agencies were creating a store of respect for the West which the Soviets could not politically afford to let develop. Their initial entrance into the foreign aid field, therefore, was primarily in response to Western activity.



The tying of their aid to bilateral payment schemes also carries some political overtones. By guaranteeing that these nations will have to trade with the communist bloc in order to repay their obligations, the communists do set up a type of relationship which in the past has been used by other nations

for other than economic ends. Also, by extending aid the communists have a foot in the door which they can make use of if the underdeveloped nations fail to take-off as rapidly as they desire. The communists can then point out that even with their generosity, they could not guarantee development because these nations relied on the backward concept of some noncommunist form of society.



It is a mistake, however, to view communist economic aid as being motivated solely by political considerations. Though they may hope that it will eventually result in their system dominating the world, communist economic aid often bears a strong taint of economic motivation. Like the nations of the West, the communists are not self-sufficient and, therefore, they need to import certain commodities. And as their economic systems grow, they have to find market outlets for certain of the commodities that they can produce in abundance. Thus, in such measures as the tying of their aid to bilateral payment agreements, the communists are able to assure themselves of supplies of certain goods which they realize that they either need now or will need in the future. And by establish-

ing a reliance on their products by the nature of the tools and equipment that they are supplying to underdeveloped countries, the communists are creating markets which may prove beneficial in expanding their international trade.

Have the communists gained greater benefits from their aid than the West? I doubt this very much. For one thing, the magnitude of the Soviet bloc aid to noncommunist nations has not been that significant. This is especially true if one looks at the amount of aid already delivered. Also, I do not think that we should place as much emphasis as we do on the value of the communist policy of extending only loans. For the most part, the important leaders of the underdeveloped countries are quite talented men and they are well aware of the difference between a loan and a grant. They realize, for instance, that Soviet aid is often a combination of both—loans to the extent that interest and principal have to be paid, grants to the extent that the interest demanded is below that available in the international market. They are also aware that insofar as loans have to be repaid this is going to be a future drain on their economies; because of this, moreover, many Soviet offers have been turned down and many projects that the underdeveloped nations need have not been thought of in terms of financing from the Soviets or the Soviet bloc nations.

### **Communist gain**

Yet there is no doubt that the communists have benefited from their aid programs. Well they might, for in one sense their task is much simpler than the task of the West. Where the West



is generally concerned with maintaining the sovereignty of the nations that they aid, and where the West is concerned with maintaining the stability of the international order, the communists are not. And where the West is vitally concerned with the successful development of these various nations, the communists need not be. Thus, the Soviet bloc can pick the countries that they will aid without being overly concerned with the stability of the international community; they can pick the projects that they will sponsor without being overly concerned about the essentiality of the project in an overall view of the successful take-off of the nations.



Because they are able to pick the countries and the projects in such a way, the Soviet bloc has been able to capitalize on the aid that they have extended. There are two other advantages that the communists have. First, because of the nature of their governments, they can move as rapidly and in whatever way they desire. Second, because of the control their governments exert over the economic system, they can make participation in such activities quite attractive to highly skilled individuals; moreover, they can train these individuals in such things as the native language and customs so

that they will make the best impression possible. In this last regard the Soviets at least possess another advantage. The Soviet technicians are still so closely associated with the time when their own society was a low-level economy that they may have more feel for what has to be done and for how to do it than their counterparts from the relatively older advanced economies of the West. About the Soviet technicians, another point should be noted. As far as we know, the Soviets have not used these individuals to infiltrate any of the major recipient countries. Nor would this be a wise move to undertake. One such instance could well undo whatever good will has accrued to the Soviet Union or to the cause of communism because of the aid that they have extended so far.

THE Soviet bloc competition in the field of foreign aid has had the beneficial effect of causing a re-evaluation of the foreign economic policy of the United States. This re-evaluation should bring forth a more appropriate American policy, for if nothing else, it should benefit from the experiences of the last 15 years; experiences which have made it abundantly clear that there is no single easy solution to the problem of the economic development of the majority of the citizens of the world. It seems to me that these experiences also suggest that an appropriate American policy for economic development should consider, at a minimum, the following points:

1. Before we can rationally judge the adequacy of our foreign economic aid program, we must possess some criteria of what has to be done and what this will cost us in real terms.

2. Whatever we do, if it is to be as efficient as possible, should involve consistency on our part. This undoubtedly means that some policies will have to include long run commitments.

3. Because of the magnitude of the task, we should coordinate, in so far as possible, our policies with those of our Allies who are capable of, and who are in significant ways already extending, economic aid.

4. Solely from the point of view of economic efficiency, we should not become entrapped either in the idea that we must do everything bilaterally or in the idea that we must do everything through international agencies.

5. In like manner, we should avoid the equal illusion that regardless of circumstances loans are better than grants or grants are better than loans.

6. We should avoid raising free multilateral trade to a principal of natural law. It may be necessary in order to accomplish certain desired objectives to rely on bilateral trade patterns.

7. We should make foreign aid a separate policy from military aid, while at the same time making it a uniform part of our foreign policy. We must, for certain, stop aiding countries with our right hand while pushing them into chaos with tariff or quota policies invoked with our left hand.

8. Before this nation can ever hope to carry out the most rational and efficient foreign economic policy, the citizens of this nation will have to come to possess a better understanding of the people and problems of Latin America, Africa and Asia, for in our democracy even the most brilliant policies of government officials will flounder in the mire of the people's ignorance.

In the last decade the industrial na-

tions have responded to the problem of the underdevelopment of the majority of the societies in the world by extending to these societies substantial amounts of technical and financial aid. This aid, however, has been given very often in a piecemeal manner, very often as a tactical measure of the cold war and very often without any real consideration of the aspirations of the people in the receiving societies. Consequently, it has not achieved its maximum effect either in terms of social justice or in terms of economic efficiency—and it should be noted that these are not mutually exclusive categories.



If both social justice and economic efficiency are to be better served in the future, aid to the underdeveloped societies will have to be based on something other than the pragmatic self-interest which has predominated in the last decade or on the utopian idealism of many of the staunchest advocates of aid, for these attitudes either disregard the rights of the people in the less developed societies or they ignore the economic and political realities within which both the underdeveloped and the developed societies have to function.

# OBJECTIVITY, SUBJECTIVITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

John E. Hughes •

*The reviewer is a member of the Sociology Department at the University of Notre Dame.*

THE SIGNIFICANT QUESTION of our era is "whither are we going?" We are faced, so constantly, with the fact and the prospects of rapid social change that we do not know what to expect of tomorrow. Viewed from the perspective of history, this is not the normal human condition. In the historical periods previous to our age, societies manifested a degree of stability which made it possible for them to modify the impact of change through surrounding it with traditional forms. This seems possible no longer. Changes in the conditions of our social life occur at so rapid a rate that we fear their unanticipated consequences may destroy us. Like men carried along by rushing flood waters, we have given up any hope of slowing our pace. Our current question is, not how to stop our progress, but how to control it so as to either reach the type of society we would have or, at the very least, to avoid a social order which would prevent the realization of our human desires.

While we cannot predict the future, we do know that what we do today will bear fruit tomorrow. We know that we can control our destiny to an important extent; if we know how the

future is shaped by the past and, more important, if we know what we should want from the future. Thus, the possible solution to our problem is seen, increasingly, in an understanding of the bases of human behavior. Consequently, the social sciences are challenged, with ever increasing frequency, to offer a better understanding of that behavior.

Because the problem of change is important to us, there have been many attempts to offer us guidance in facing our future. The attempts which are represented by Everett Knight's *The Objective Society*<sup>1</sup> and Geoffrey Vickers' *The Undirected Society*<sup>2</sup> are especially interesting. While they have points in common, the two books manifest almost diametrically opposed approaches; this both in their basic orientations and in the prospects and prognoses which they depict. One is a strident cry of despair, coupled with a cloudy optimistic faith in a lack of faith. The other is a calmly reasoned attempt to uncover the basis we possess for dealing with the problem of change, coupled with a pessimistic view of the future. Neither is completely successful.

<sup>1</sup> George Braziller, New York. 136 pp. \$3.75.

<sup>2</sup> University of Toronto Press, Toronto. 162 pp. \$4.50.

But together they serve to put into focus some of the central problems involved in the understanding and in the attack upon problems of change.

*The Objective Society* is a muddy book. It requires diligent effort just to get clear the meaning of the terms employed and the basic argument. All the while, the reader wonders whether the effort is worthwhile. The reader has an impression, rather than a conviction, that the basic argument includes important and significant ideas, but he grows resentful of the effort involved.<sup>3</sup>

Everett Knight's basic argument involves the following ideas. "Objectivity," or the "objective viewpoint," appears with the rise of modern science. It depends upon a faith in some "object" or some "reality" which exists independently of our subjective appreciation of it. This "objective reality" is considered the "true reality" within which we live.

The medieval mind accepted the evidence of the senses uncritically; the scientific attitude is based upon a mistrust of them. The first law of the scientific view is not to believe what one sees. This gives rise to a conception of the "mind" as the interpreter of sense impressions coming to it from without. Science, therefore, deals with two worlds, the outer world of "reality" and the inner world of "subjective impression."

<sup>3</sup> This is especially true when the author looks down on the poor "objective" scholar and sneers that it is the importance of an idea and not its clarity, which makes it significant. One agrees, and then hesitantly queries, how can we tell if the idea is important unless we can understand it? Also, the author glories in a polemic tone. He takes pride in the fact that someone might disagree with him or resent what he has to say. We might wonder whether his polemics are an attempt to disarm criticism by implying that it stems from a resentment of his ideas rather than from their evaluation.

This faith in the existence of an objective reality gives rise to the conception of a universe which obeys "natural laws" operating behind the appearance of things. These natural laws constitute the objective reality of the universe. This universe can be understood and explained through a discovery of the objective realities which underlie its appearances. Reason can be used to pierce the veil of appearances. In this pursuit of truth subjectivity can be harmful or, at the very least, irrelevant.

### Subjective perception

Scientific objectivity is a delusion. We cannot get beyond our senses and, as a matter of fact, there is no real world beyond them. All that we have is a subjective perception which is not *of reality*; it *is reality*. There are no natural laws, no absolutes, no objective truth. There is only the subjective truth which we manufacture; the rest is illusion.

Because it lives in terms of this neurotic delusion, the objective society (one which adopts the above viewpoint) is doomed. While he is curiously optimistic about it, the author is not sure whether our neurosis can be cured. Is it inevitable, he questions, that we continue trying to explain what exists by what does not exist, the seen by the unseen, the present by the past? Must we go on living on faith—in God, in science, or in the countless mystifications of the intellectual—and continue to mistrust the evidence of our senses? Yes, if we insist upon explanations. But what if (as most of us already obscurely believe) there are no explanations. . . .

If there are no moral, scientific, or political absolutes, then it is pointless to go on "contemplating" them as it is to try to attain them; the Truth is no more in the past as in the future. The great liberation brought about not only by the

"death of God" but of absolutes whatever their nature, has not been joyfully received; quite the contrary, because the "eternal truths" are not discovered, they are created to shield us from the absurd. They are a Father Christmas for adults.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, the intellectuals of Western society have deluded themselves with their "unreal reality." These intellectuals have "not only ceased to think, they consider it their duty not to think—their function being to compile facts out of which will emerge the truth by immaculate conception."<sup>5</sup> They have become sterile because they are objective. They have retreated from purposeful action in the world to a purposeless contemplation of the unreal.

Is there a way out of this dilemma? Yes, answers Knight, through the salvation offered by Marxism. Using a logic which is exceedingly difficult to follow (or rather no logic, since his position denies the validity of reason for the purpose of adopting a perception of the world), he argues that communism bases judgment upon what man *does* (or is supposed to do) rather than upon what he *is* (or is supposed to be).<sup>6</sup> Therefore, (this reader confesses that he fails to follow the argument which leads to this conclusion) some form of Marxism (because it is based upon a subjective conception of the world) is the only solution to world problems:

To talk of implementing one's ideas on any significant scale is to talk of one form or another of marxism, and this will be so until the economic structure of the West has been permanently and fundamentally altered . . . Democracy fully implemented is marxism.<sup>7</sup>

Against this "false objectivity,"

Knight opposes the subjective viewpoint—derived principally from existentialist philosophy. He argues that thinking is a positive activity in man. Its function is to enable man to adapt himself to new situations, not merely to collect information. Thus, man is not interested in facts as such but in the meaningful perception which he has of the world. In order to act, he has to assume an orientation toward the world—to give it meaning. This meaning he gives in terms, not of the facts, but in terms of his purposes. What Knight means by "subjectivity" is just this "orientation" or "intention." The purposeful meaning which is given to the world by man.



What is deepest in man is not his reason; it is what he wants to accomplish with it. We do not use reason to help us make the important choices of our lives; we choose and then use reason to justify our choice. In other words, by nature man *must* adopt an intention or purposeful orientation toward the world. He *must* give it a meaning. Once this is done, his reason and intellect help him to exploit his subjective perception. Furthermore, this subjective orientation is *the truth and the only truth*. Or, existentially, "truth is those arrangements or patterns of things which man 'exists,' which man as a purposeful being has brought into being."<sup>8</sup>

What is interesting in this work is associated with the concept of subjectivity which is advanced. But the errors in Knight's conception of scientific objectivity are, however, so gross that criticism must start with this idea. He

<sup>4</sup> Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 and 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

exhibits a definite failure to understand the nature of the scientific attitude but his view is so popular that it cannot be lightly dismissed. Knight is undoubtedly correct when he insists that scientific objectivity is founded upon a faith in the existence of an objective reality which we can know through our senses but which exists independently of our sensory perception of it.<sup>9</sup> This assumption is at the basis of the scientific perception and, indeed, of all human perception. As a matter of fact, Knight cannot really deny this faith in himself. He accepts it again and again in his own statements. For example:

The world is not a substance which we mould to suit our fancy or which the categories of mind render intelligible but rather an *object of infinite complexity* toward which we may adopt various points of view which will not be more or less true but more or less true in terms of human well being.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, even when he expounds his viewpoint, he regards the universe as an object apart from the consciousness of it, as an object which has an existence independent of our knowledge of it.

Where Knight goes wrong is when he claims that science distrusts and ignores the senses. Empirical science has a second article of faith which is fully as important as the first. The conception of objectivity which Knight deplores in science (but which he does not understand) involves the idea that our knowl-

edge of objects is obtained through the senses and only through the senses. All knowledge is in some sense subjective. Empirical science does not mistrust the senses. Rather, it seeks to discipline them for two reasons: first, because of the variability of individual sensory awareness and, second, because of the limited range of our sensory perception of objects.

### Observation

Modern science concedes that all knowledge is ultimately subjective but it assumes that the real world constrains our perception of it.<sup>11</sup> The techniques of science are intended, not to deny the subjective but, first, to rule out the influence of individual variation in the sensory perception of objects and, second, to increase the range of our sensory awareness through instruments and through reason. In empirical science the ultimate test of the validity of an hypothesis is the appeal to the senses, *i.e.*, observation.

Frankly, Knight's whole argument is beside the point. The bankruptcy which he attributed to our society is not due to the scientific view of the universe—the objective viewpoint—for science does not operate as he describes. But his argument has a real and a significant point, although he does not seem clearly aware of it. What Knight really argues is that the natural scientific viewpoint does not seem to be a sufficient guide for dealing with the problems of human behavior. Human behavior is guided by man's subjective intentions rather than by the objective realities of the world.

<sup>9</sup> See Alfred North Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World*, Macmillan, New York, 1925, for a more complete discussion of this point. For example: "... there can be no living science unless there is a widespread instinctive conviction of an *Order of Things*, and, in particular, of an *Order of Nature*. ... (this) faith in the possibility of science, generated antecedently to the development of modern scientific theory, is an unconscious derivative from medieval theology." Pp. 4 and 14.

<sup>10</sup> Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Italics added.

<sup>11</sup> For a brilliant discussion of these problems see, Michael Polanyi, *The Study of Man*, The University of Chicago Press, 1959, and *Personal Knowledge*, University of Chicago Press, 1958.



Therefore, science can only give us facts. But we must have more than facts to develop solutions to our problems. C. Wright Mills has put the same viewpoint much more clearly:

Much that has passed for "science" is now felt to be dubious philosophy; much that is held to be "real science" is often felt to provide only confused fragments of the realities among which men live. Men of science, it is widely felt, no longer try to picture reality as a whole or to present a true outline of human destiny. Moreover, "science" seems to many less a creative ethos and a manner of orientation than a set of Science Machines, operated by technicians and controlled by economic and military men who neither embody nor understand science as ethos and orientation. In the meantime, philosophers who speak in the name of science often transform it into "scientism," making out its experience to be identical with human experience, and claiming that only by its method can the problems of life be solved.<sup>12</sup>

Mills, however, looks to the use of science, coupled with the "sociological imagination" for solutions to our human problems. Knight rejects the whole of science and offers us only some form of Marxism.

Let us examine the elements of this conception more closely. When we are trying to understand nature (physical reality), we assume that it has an existence apart from our knowledge of it. We attempt to describe nature in terms of the relation of cause and effect. This is a perfectly valid viewpoint. What Knight objects to, and rightly so, is the application of this viewpoint, of this conception of causality, to human behavior. As he points out, a human act does not have a cause (in the sense of physical causality) but an intention of purpose. Men must act and the course

of their actions is not merely dependent upon the facts but also upon human intentions and purposes. Therefore, facts are meaningful for human action in terms of our intentions. Knowledge (that is, knowledge of the objective world) must be interpreted in terms of the purposes we seek to realize before it can aid us in the achievement of such purposes.

While the "facts" of physical reality are more or less constant and can be "discovered," human behavior is not determined by physical reality. Rather, the purposeful orientation or interpretation given to the facts is the basis for human action. To act we must give meaning to our environment; human meaning which involves a subjective interpretation of our environment in the light of what we hope to achieve. For example, a rock has a physical reality which we can seek to describe on various levels. Its significance for human and social action is, however, dependent upon our purposes. A rock can be a tool, an obstacle, a thing of beauty, a landmark or a defensive barrier. What we perceive it to be, in this sense, it is. What we perceive it to be is dependent upon our subjective orientation toward it.



What Knight does not seem to realize is that there is nothing contradictory in these viewpoints. The rock is still a rock, no matter what meaning we give to it. Its physical qualities are taken into account in our perceptions of it even when we give it very different human meanings. But the physical qualities, while they constrain our perception, do not determine the purpose-

<sup>12</sup>C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, Oxford University Press. New York, 1959, p. 16.

ful meaning that we give to the physical reality.

We can only conclude that Knight offers us very little that is new or clear. Very little that has not been said elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> His most important conception—that the purposeful perception we have of reality is the most important aspect of it for our behavior—is soundly entrenched in the literature of modern sociology and psychology. His condemnation of Western intellectuals is based upon a distorted view of the scientific attitude. Yet his basic point—that we must be more concerned with our purposes than with facts in social action—cannot be ignored, even though the process through which he arrives at this conclusion can be viewed with suspicion. It is important to recognize, however, that social action and, therefore, solutions aimed at dealing with the problems of social change must be based upon both a knowledge of the facts and some clear conception of the purposes which we hope to achieve.

Geoffrey Vickers' *The Undirected Society*, while concerned with essentially similar problems, presents a dramatic contrast to the Knight volume. Here, in calm and reasoned tones, the author faces up to the obvious effects of rapid industrialization upon human well-being.<sup>14</sup> In the course of dealing with this problem, he is led to face the necessity of having a basic understanding of

human behavior, not only in order to decide when a problem involving human well-being exists, but also in order to decide upon a solution.

Vickers is led to a position which has many points in common with that of Knight. Vickers argues that before we can determine whether rapid change has an influence upon human well-being, we have to have standards for judging this well-being. Such standards appear to be of three types: standards of behavior, standards of need, and standards of want. None of these standards is purely factual, in a physical sense, and all involve some conception of what behavior *should* be, what needs men *should* have, and what desires they *should* seek to satisfy. They operate as norms by which men guide their behavior in reference to the purposes and intentions which they seek to realize.

Both Vickers and Knight agree, then, that human behavior is basically purposeful and that this feature of human behavior must be taken into account when dealing with human problems. Men must maintain continuing relationships with each other and with their environment in order to attain their ends. Both the environment and other persons must be interpreted in reference to the relationship which would be maintained.

Both authors agree that human thought and action are designed to adapt man to his environment. They disagree concerning the purpose of the adaptation. Knight implies that human adaptation is basically meaningless, even though it allows man to survive. Vickers, however, views this process of adaptation as one through which man adapts himself and his environment in order to achieve purposes which stem from his "nature." This nature may be

<sup>13</sup>See, especially, Solomon Asch, *Social Psychology*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1952 and Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*.

<sup>14</sup>All of the essays in this book were contributed to the Round Table on Man and Industry, a project organized by the School of Social Work of the University of Toronto and held at the University in the years 1956-8. This project brought together more than 100 prominent Canadians to explore the impact of Canada's rapid industrialization on the well-being of the individual.

partly innate and largely learned but it is still a human nature which man attempts to fulfill through his purposive actions. Both agree as to the importance of the historical process by which man develops the conception of self which serves as his basic orientation toward reality and, hence, as a basis for his purposeful actions. Vickers, however, sees the human being as a man in history, while Knight, for all his existentialism, sees only history as real and man as its product.

### Point of separation

At this point, the two authors diverge rapidly. Knight is content to leave man without reason, knowing only that he is struggling to orient himself in a world which he can never understand—in a world which is changing so rapidly that his orientation does not help him to adapt. In the case of the Western nations, he claims, the orientation actually impedes his adaptation. He weakly suggests that adopting the Marxist orientation would be the progressive thing to do.

Vickers, however, goes beyond to the fundamental question. If man is constantly trying to maintain an equilibrium between his nature and his environment, then how does he deal with the problem of change? He agrees that man achieves stability through adopting a self-other orientation (a set of rules) which describe a meaningful relationship of self to environment and environment to self. But when the environment changes how can he modify his orientation so as to maintain necessary relationships? Thus, he strikes directly at the weakest point in Knight's thesis. Knight argues that to act purposefully we have to interpret the world. But how can we change an interpretation

once it is made? He gives us no real clue as to the basis of this phenomenon but implies that we are imprisoned within our orientation. Even Marxism is merely urged upon us rather than presented as an orientation which we must accept because of its adaptation value. Even then, the process by which we would accept Marxism, assuming that our original orientation was not Marxist, is not clear.

Vickers, however, points out that we can act in either of two ways. We can face a situation by applying a previously developed set of rules for behavior. Alternatively, we can go through a repertory of actions with no clear preconception as to what the result will be and evaluate the results of our actions. Each of these modes of behavior is rational. In any case, the actions are initiated by an experience of conflict between what we expect and what we achieve. This calls for decisions and choices. As we make our decisions and choices (in the day-to-day historical process), either on the basis of rules or results, the very actions which are intended to bring our wants into line with reality serve as a basis for a changing conception of reality, a changing orientation.

To summarize the process, both individuals and societies seek to maintain certain relationships between themselves and their environment. Such relationships are influenced both by the nature of the individual or society and by the "real" conditions in the environment. Both individuals and societies have natures which are partly historical and partly determined by *what they are*. From such natures develop purposes which the individual or society seek to implement. They are implemented by

interpreting the environment in terms of both its "real" features and the human purposes involved. As purpose or environment change, new orientations must be developed. New environmental features must be reconciled to human purposes and new purposes must be brought into harmony with reality.

This reconciliation is a constant process. It is achieved by constant choice and decision making in which man or society are a dynamic factor. The individual compares the results of his behavior with what he expected or desired. As he notes a discrepancy between the two, he may apply rules which are believed capable of reducing the discrepancy. Failing this, he tries actions the results of which are not immediately apparent and notes the effects they have. Man lives within a constant dynamic process of adjustment between self and environmental reality. A process in which man is a causative factor and in which his purposeful orientation toward reality is a means to his adjustment. His decision making, while based upon his orientation to the world, is the means through which his orientation to the world is changed.

It is strange that, while his theory is essentially optimistic, Vickers ends on a pessimistic note. He points out that rapid social change (of the type experienced as a result of industrialization) causes an even greater disparity between self and environment, between the internal organization of society and its milieu. Can we adapt to this changing environment rapidly enough to maintain the necessary relationships? This author seems to feel that change is taking place too rapidly for the individual or for the society to adjust to it. There are, consequently, two possi-

bilities: 1. the society or the individual may break down (*i.e.*, fail to maintain necessary relationships); or 2. they may survive only by changing their natures in a direction which may be ultimately disastrous. They may sacrifice essential values and needs in order to adapt. Mere survival would be a false victory in that it would involve a denial of their nature. If adaptation and survival require that man live like an animal or a machine, has he really survived or has the price of physical survival been spiritual annihilation?



These are but a few of the provocative ideas in *The Undirected Society*. The work is marred by only two general failings. First, the author writes as if the literature of modern sociology did not exist. While he contributes many provocative insights, they could be considerably sharpened through the use of this literature. Secondly, he neglects the fundamental contribution which sociological knowledge can make to the problem of change. As we learn more about the process through which man adjusts to his world, we lay the groundwork for dealing with his problems. When properly applied to the study of human behavior, the "science" which has created many of our problems can also help solve them.

Both of these slim volumes are interesting, not because they offer fully worked out solutions, but because they focus upon central and significant prob-

lems. They are part of a growing literature which bears witness to the immediacy of the problems resulting from rapid social change. More important, they are part of a growing literature—both popular and specialized—which is raising significant questions concerning human behavior and the approach which is taken toward its study by the social sciences. Very briefly, we can say that this literature centers around the importance of human purposes for under-

standing human behavior. It suggests that the scientific methods which we use in the social sciences (especially our conception of causality and our techniques of observation) must take into account the realities of the human condition. The social sciences, while they take their basic model from the natural sciences, cannot afford to slavishly ape the physical sciences in their approach. They must face the fact that they deal with a unique phenomenon—man.

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## Books



**THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR.** By Gerhard Lenski. Doubleday, Garden City, New York. xvi, 381 pp. \$5.95

The 656 interviews providing most of the information reported in this book were conducted during the first quarter of 1958 under the sponsorship of the Detroit Area Study, a facility of the Department of Sociology of the University of Michigan. Additional information was obtained from 127 interviews conducted during the summer of 1958 with a sample of Detroit clergymen. The major purpose of the study was to investigate the consequences of religious beliefs and practices in the everyday life of modern society. Relying heavily on a conceptual framework drawn from the classic treatment of Weber, the author studies the economic, political, familial, and educational characteristics of the major religious divisions in the area: white Protestants, Negro Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews. For purposes of analysis, respondents within these major divisions are further subdivided according to their degree of associational or communal involvements, as well as according to their measure of devotionism or doctrinal orthodoxy.

In general, Professor Lenski finds that formal organized religion, with the exception of the Jewish group, remains vigorous and will probably gain in associational vitality. Further, religion remains a pervasive influence in the daily lives of men and women at both the personal and social levels. In other words, depending on the socio-religious group to which a person belongs, the probabilities are increased or decreased that he will enjoy his occupation, indulge in installment buying, save to achieve objectives far in the future, believe in the American Dream, vote Republican, favor the welfare state, take a liberal view on the issue of freedom of speech, oppose racial integration in the schools, migrate, maintain close family ties, have a large family, develop a commitment to the principle of intellectual autonomy, complete a given unit of education, or rise in the social system. The relationships between religious background and these various probabilities are more complex than generally assumed, but they appear to be nonetheless real.

This study is of particular interest and value because it attempts to clarify the

manifold ways in which the fact of religious affiliation or belonging affects the adherent's entire value-orientation. The analysis is uniformly competent, yielding some highly pertinent insights. On the negative side, I feel that the author has given too little weight to the peculiar persistence of specifically ethnic attitudes and orientations in discussing the characteristics of the Roman Catholic group. Degree of acculturation is not merely a matter of time, it depends primarily on the effectiveness of the instruments or social vehicles established by various ethnic groups to maintain their solidarity. Further, migration, or the willingness to migrate, as an index of familism must be used with care. Migration to the Detroit area has been largely from the rural south, which is Protestant. Also, in assessing the degree of loyalty to kin group on the basis of visits to relatives, the fact that a much larger percentage of Protestants had no relatives in the area should have been given greater emphasis.

This book is stimulating and suggestive. Everyone interested in modern urban society will read it with profit.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

**JUSTICES BLACK AND FRANKFURTER: CONFLICT IN THE COURT.** By Wallace Mendelson. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. x, 151 pp. \$4

For those familiar with the recent activities of the Supreme Court, whether from academic, professional, or even newspaper knowledge, there is nothing notably new in Professor Mendelson's latest book. But these activities are presented in terms of the crucial problem concerning the interpretation of the judges' role, especially as exemplified by the leaders of the opposing factions in the Supreme Court. The leaders, colorful protagonists Mr. Justice Black the idealist and Mr. Justice Frankfurter the realist, lend themselves aptly to a dramatic presentation. The author brings his own talents of legal and social analytic ability to bear on this problem, writing with sharpness and dexterity.

The format of our legal order often necessitates the overlapping of the legislative function of lawmaking into the realm of the judicial function of law finding. Legislation of its nature usually involves compromise

between conflicting views, and often speaks in less than logically compelling language—hence the judge's dilemma. This is true especially in times of radical social change when newly-created case situations frequently must be measured according to the norms of the Constitution, with the highest court doing the measuring. Thus in matters such as civil rights, states' rights, etc., the influence of Black's activism (making judicial legislation the heart of the judicial process, embedding "Utopian" ideals into the law by interpreting the Constitution absolutely) and Frankfurter's judicial restraint (giving attention to the separation of powers of government in favor of regularity and uniformity, interpreting the Constitution in accord with pragmatic experiential growth) are offered for evaluation and comparison.

The author descriptively poses the faction leaders as humanitarian compared to humilitarian. Justice Black is the former, the first FDR appointee, descendant of the line of Marshall, Field, Peckham, Fuller, and Sutherland, using law intelligently as a tool to be manipulated for personal freedoms according to his own concepts of right and wrong; his target is the heart. Justice Frankfurter is the latter, humilitarian in the Holmesian sense, whose target is the mind, who would prefer that the people choose when choice must be made, holding judicial legislation to a minimum, and who occupies "the scholar's seat" after the tradition of Taney, Waite, Holmes, Brandeis, Stone, and Cardozo.

The author avoids the current vogue of bandying about the elastic and elusive terms of "liberal vs. conservative." Black is liberal all right, but Frankfurter is not so easy to categorize, considering his off-the-bench liberalism. The reader is reminded that a liberal Frankfurter decision is forthcoming only when a liberal answer fits the Justice's private blueprint on how the federal system as an abstract concept ought to work.

This book emanates from within the law, but is not a textbook type. Illustration through cases and researched factual matter are balanced by the author's own insights and value judgments.

FRANK B. HIGGINS, S.J.  
Weston College  
Weston, Mass.



**THE ECONOMICS OF DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE.** By Charles J. Hitch and Roland N. McKean. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 422 pp. \$9.50

Even the most casual observer of World War II knew that the matter of supply was a problem of far greater magnitude than it had been in any previous war. "Being there first with the most" became a point of peculiar urgency. "Being" implied staying alive, active, and effective. "There" meant almost everywhere—east, west, north and south. "First" called for preceding the enemy. "With" demanded not just goods in proper variety but trained men with the proper goods in proper amounts. "The most" referred to relative plenty, as against the objective immediately in view. The handling of matters in this area during World War II has not yet ceased to be just cause of great wonderment. Since that time, however, the revolution of advancing technology and the many-frontal challenge of the cold war have presented an enormously complicated situation.

The present volume compiles an exhaustive amount of erudition in the field. The authors set out to stress the implications of advancing technology as it affects defense, to illumine the resulting choices, to apply systematic quantitative analysis, to discuss criteria for decision making, broad strategies and defense systems—all in the name of rational and efficient use of resources, oriented towards our survival and welfare. They introduce the reader to the refinements of economic analysis, the incommensurables and the uncertainties characterizing the area.

Their efforts find them presenting an account of the resources available for defense, an inquiry into the efficient use of these resources and a discussion of special problems and applications. Among the special problems, they discuss "Military Research and Development," "Logistics," "The Economics of Military Alliance," "Economic Warfare and Disarmament," "Mobilization, Civil Defense, and Recuperation," and "Choosing Policies for Deterrence." This last entry, borrowed from Albert Wohlstetter of the Rand Corporation, is most realistic, readable and terrifying.

In making their presentation, the authors

do not hesitate to use the work of others. About five chapters and the Mathematical Appendix (The Simple Mathematics of Maximization) have appeared previously in publication. However, the pertinence of the borrowed matter fits in with the general development and gives an impression of unity. The reader, too, gets the impression that here is rationality in depth and in detail, enormous in its extension to the various possibilities of defense and deterrence.

The general reader will not go far in this work. It is too deep, too penetrating and too specialized. One whose education is limited to the beauty that was Greece, the glory that was Rome, or the tragic pathos of Lear will get lost on the labyrinthine way. The more specialized reader will find here ample food for thought, study and reflection on subjects of vital concern. He will find, too, reason for regret that the spectacle of world folly promises to endure indefinitely.

RAYMOND F. X. CAHILL, S.J.  
Holy Cross College  
Worcester, Mass.

**REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY [in Latin America].** By David A. Morse. International Labour Office, Geneva. 143 pp., \$1.25

In his report to the Seventh Congress of American States Members of the International Labour Organisation held in April in Buenos Aires, David Morse provides an analysis of contemporary Latin America which is especially useful in three respects.

In an opening discussion, Morse surveys the pattern of economic growth in Latin America, emphasizing rates of advance and change in the various components of growth as well as the disparities which indicate the unevenness of development among the countries of the area. Apart from figures cited in the text, 18 simple statistical tables drawn in the main from U.N. sources furnish an excellent guide to the dimensions of the topic under discussion. While the tables are, in their own right, well worth a careful examination by the reader, they are, or so it seems to the reviewer, unusually well integrated into the textual exposition.

Perhaps the heart of the book, however,

is an exceptionally sophisticated and lucid analysis of the manifold economic and social problems and the relations between them which occupy the center of the stage in Latin America. Moreover, in this section, the policy-implications of these problems and relationships are developed clearly and, considering space limitations, fairly extensively.

Finally, two areas of concern sometimes underemphasized in other comprehensive surveys are singled out for special attention: the labor force and the matter of regional development within national structures. As suggested by these last sections and, by the auspices under which the study was made, the overriding focus throughout is on the human aspect of the development process—a refreshing awareness in view of the almost unavoidable tendency in such discussions to lose sight of the ends in the midst of a preoccupation with means.

Readers with a particular interest in the international facets of Latin America's economic problems will find that such tend to be tangential to the central discussion of this book; those mainly seeking extensive information about individual countries will similarly find other studies more appropriate to their interest. But those non-specialists primarily interested in acquiring a sound overview of Latin America will find this a truly superior treatment providing them with much information that is new, intelligible and meaningful. For the specialist, the book is a useful summary statement of "the state of Latin America today."

WILLIAM P. GLADE, JR.  
University of Wisconsin

**THE FACTS OF AMERICAN LIFE.** Edited by M.B. Schnapper. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., vi, 420 pp. \$6

This book presents, in question and answer form, authoritative and up-to-date information that the average person would like to have available. For the reader who doesn't like to cope with statistical tables the format of this work is one of its largest assets.

As the section titles indicate, major emphasis is placed upon American people, government, business, labor, agriculture, science, education, culture and world affairs. Information is found within these categories on practically every conceivable aspect of life in the United States in the early 1960s.

**THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY APOSTOLATE.** Social Action Department, Canadian Catholic Conference, Ottawa. 214 pp. \$2

In publishing the addresses given at four Regional Conferences during 1960, the Social Action Department of the Canadian Catholic Conference has again made a highly useful contribution to all who are active in the family apostolate. Of special interest are the discussions on population, marital love, parental problems, and various aspects of the lay apostolate. Family life study groups in particular will find this text most helpful, since it includes ample discussion outlines carefully prepared to stimulate further reflection and analysis.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

## Letters

### "Christian Democracy in Latin America"

Roberto Marchant's "Christian Democracy in Latin America" (SOCIAL ORDER, June) heralded the World Congress of Christian Democratic parties of Western Europe and Latin America and noted the progress made in Argentina, Brazil, Chile

and Venezuela over the past two decades with pride. By comparison it would seem that the Anglo-Saxon part of the Western Hemisphere is a generation behind Latin America and Western Europe—will any American or Canadian Christian Democratic Party participate at Santiago?

Mr. Marchant's article stated that the "chief influence of Christian Democracy is

found among university students, professional groups, labor unions and intellectuals," and further that the CDP is inspired by the Christian social teachings of the papal encyclicals. It has been thirty years since *Quadragesimo Anno* was promulgated, but outside of Catholic academic circles what has been its impact? The organic and corporative program for "Christian Social Reconstruction" has been a subject of study in Catholic high schools, universities and Catholic Action circles of professional, labor and youth groups. With all the proliferation of Catholic schools, professional organizations, and social groups since 1931, we have yet to coordinate all their separate influences behind a non-partisan (if possible) political education and action organization such as has risen to prominence in Western Europe and Latin America.

A Christian Democratic Union is sorely needed in American political circles if the aggressive forces of Secularism and Marxism are to be held at bay and the cause of Christian Social Reconstruction to be advanced. A cursory glance at the great successes achieved by the well-organized Zionist and Negro groups in pursuit of their goals demonstrates how far behind the times the Christian Social Reconstructionists stand. How long will it be before American Catholics (and Protestants) follow the lead of their brethren in Western Europe and Latin America?

DONALD F. BARRY

Brooklyn, N. Y.

### **"Negroes and African Nationalism"**

May I please take a minute of your time to tell you how much benefit I received from the article in *SOCIAL ORDER* by John H. Hicks ("Negroes and African Nationalism," April) and your own comment on it.

Mr. Hicks is so right in linking the struggle in Africa to the not unrelated struggle for equality in treatment of citizens in the United States. His efforts and yours are reflected in progressive steps such as the passage of the Public Accommodations ordinance in St. Louis and the advance of Equal Job Opportunity legislation in Illinois.

But much, so much, remains to be done and when free Americans are routed out of busses in the United States and their vehicles set afire and the occupants violently mistreated, the Congo is not far away.

I hope that Mr. Hick's thoughtful, fair, moving article is widely circulated and along with it the editor's own forceful disavowal of "discrimination's blight."

IRVING DILLIARD

Collinsville, Illinois

I thought Mr. Hicks did a very thorough and sober analysis of the relationship between Africans and American Negroes which as he pointed out, still is confined to a minority of both groups. I gather from some things I have read recently that when the American Negro goes to Africa, he is likely to be shocked by the way in which Africans treat their fellow men and particularly their servants. There is a wide gulf between the two worlds. What Mr. Hicks said in the conclusion of his article was especially true and well spoken it seemed to me.

MARQUIS W. CHILDS

Washington, D.C.

### **"Not guilty as charged"**

"Not Guilty as Charged" (*SOCIAL ORDER*, February) is a very thoughtful and informative article. I think you will agree that emotional and uninformed approaches to the problem of communism will not contribute to its solution. This applies to communism as it relates to religion and to all other areas of our social life. It would be unfortunate indeed if in opposing communism, we lost sight of what we are for—the Christianization of the individual and through this process the improvement of society.

While our goal is perfection, of course, we can never hope to attain it. Similarly, as there is this dynamic interplay between the individual and his environment, we do not need to expect that progress is in the form of a straight unbroken line. Rightly or wrongly, it seems to me, that such fac-

tors, as well as many, many others, should be considered when we discuss the question of overcoming communism which, may I suggest, is more of a symptom of fundamental social disorder than it is a cause *per se* of our present difficulties.

In view of this, when people ask me what they can do right away to combat communism, I suggest that they analyze their local communities to determine whether there is a truly vital spiritual life, social justice, absence of sociological discrimination, economic stability, political effectiveness, *et cetera*. Will you agree that a local community is somewhat like the human body? If it is healthy, it will resist the appeals of communism just as a healthy body will resist the assaults of germs.

While I have read your fine journal *SOCIAL ORDER*, off and on for some years, I am pleased now to be a regular subscriber.

WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

### **"American Indian Crisis"**

"American Indian Crisis," in the May issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* is one of the most informative and dispassionate discussions of the American Indians' problems to appear recently in any magazine.

As you may know, Secretary Stewart L. Udall, shortly after assuming the leadership of this Department in January, appointed a special task force to review the Indians' needs and aspirations and to recommend new policies and possibly a reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The report of the task force, which is headed by Mr. W. W. Keeler, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation and executive vice-president of the Phillips Petroleum Company, will probably be completed later this month.

Meanwhile, you and Mr. White may be interested in a recent statement in New York by Assistant Secretary John A. Carver, Jr., which indicates our present thinking on ending federal trusteeship of Indian tribes. Mr. Carver said:

We must recognize and agree that "termination" as a descriptive term is semantic

nonsense. As a ground rule, then, let us say that we will cease talking about termination, defensively or offensively. The word is a dishonest word, which confuses ends with means, and conveys no real meaning . . . . Naturally, we want the Indian people to have full legal, economic and social opportunity, but we do not espouse the notion that this can be accomplished by the surgery of simply chopping off our programs by a certain date.

Please extend to Mr. White our thanks for a remarkably calm and comprehensive presentation of a national question which too often provokes only heat and misunderstanding.

JOHN O. CROW, Commissioner  
Department of the Interior  
Bureau of Indian Affairs  
Washington, D. C.

Mr. White's article contains one of the most fact-packed treatises on Indian affairs that I have seen in a long while. Also, his thoughtful discussion of situations and conclusions in analysis of these facts give cause for hope that some time it may be possible to create on Indian reservations the kind of economic and social conditions which will contribute to the development of people. Thus, out of Indian strengths and aspirations, they may form a society of independent Indian Americans, proud of their heritage and adjusted to the stream of the society that surrounds them.

LESLIE TOWLE, Superintendent  
Bureau of Indian Affairs  
Pine Ridge Agency  
Pine Ridge, South Dakota

Your thoughtfulness in providing me with reprints of "American Indian Crisis" by Robert A. White, S.J., is deeply appreciated . . . [the author] has a growing knowledge of the American Indian situation and an understanding background of proportions possessed by few. This will be of inestimable value to the Indians and others seriously concerned with the improvement of the future for this misunderstood minority of Americans.

His article clearly sets out the problems besetting Indians. It should be of invaluable assistance to those who are looking for a quickly read account in layman's terms. It should generate further study and intelligent search for practical and workable solutions.

Indians and their friends looking for ways to improve Indian life in the American society are in his debt.

BEN REIFEL

House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

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In the main, the author has done a fine job in presenting the complex problem of modern day American Indians to his readers. When I read the article, it occurred to me that he may have been unaware of the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Programs of Relocation and Adult Vocational Training are "companion" programs that are administered by the same staff who have the joint responsibility of advising Indians concerning the benefits that might be derived from each.

The author mentions that in recent years the relocation program has run into formidable obstacles so that the number being moved into cities has been cut in half. This is not true. Actually, with the introduction of the Adult Vocational Training Program in 1957, substantial numbers of Indians who normally would have applied for Relocation Services found in the availability of Adult Vocational Training an opportunity for a more secure future and increased earning power. While it is true that those leaving the reservation for straight relocation diminished beginning with 1957, the number of persons along with their dependents who relocated to take a course in vocational training began to increase.

I believe it is interesting to note that throughout the several recessions that we have experienced during the last six years, the number of Indians who had already relocated that were on the unemployed rolls were substantially less in comparison with the non-Indian labor force in the communities where they were relocated. This has been due in part to staff assistance to those relocated Indians who lost employment through no fault of their own. These

individuals were assisted to obtain other employment as soon after layoff as was possible thereby keeping the unemployment level at a comparatively low percentage.

Concerning the Bureau's Adult Vocational Training Program, the author states, "The program is still in its experimental stages, but early reports indicate that many of the trainees with their new skills are preferring to return to their native reservation communities rather than settle in a distant urban community." In my opinion, the Adult Vocational Training Program, now four years old, has definitely moved beyond the experimental stages. But the more important point concerns the settlement preference of Indians who complete the training.

During March of this year a survey was conducted to evaluate the current status of the 3,184 persons who had earlier been entered into training since the inception of the program. As of this date, 1,282 had already completed training and it was found that 1,027 or 81 per cent were gainfully employed away from the reservation. All persons who enter training do not complete the course of training and quite likely for the same reasons that all young people who enter college do not graduate for various reasons. Among those who were entered into training, 1,026 discontinued training. However, a review of these revealed that 539 or 52 per cent of this group were gainfully employed away from the reservation. It is my belief that these results do not substantiate the premise assumed by the author; namely, that individuals with new skills prefer to return to their native reservation.

WALTER J. KNODEL  
Chief, Branch of Relocation  
Services

Bureau of Indian Affairs  
Washington, D. C.

### Author's Reply

The relocation program has come in for some rather rough handling from certain quarters in recent years and it is in order for Mr. Knodel to keep the record straight regarding the activities he directs. However, in view of his comments, I would like to add a few clarifications.



Although the Bureau's relocation and adult vocational training programs are administered by the same staff (and I am indeed aware of this administrative structure), from analysis of the role of the two programs within the Bureau's total effort and from observation of their operation on the reservation level, it seemed better to evaluate them separately.

Relocation services have as their sole aim the movement of families and individuals to job opportunities away from the reservation. The goal of the vocational training program is to equip young Indians with skills so that they will be better able to meet economic opportunities either on or away from the reservation. Thus vocational training meets one of the major difficulties in relocating many Indians, the lack of a marketable skill. Many of the trainees have located and will continue to locate off the reservation in urban centers. But this choice is voluntary. Many have also chosen to return to the reservation areas for employment.

Again, whereas the relocation program has been providing services for many older individuals and their families, the vocational training program seems to have its greatest appeal among young unmarried individuals who wish to continue their schooling beyond high school. Although the vocational training program is closely tied in with the aims of the relocation program, it is primarily an educational program and I have chosen to describe it as such.

Regarding trends in the relocation program, the facts of the case, backed up by public statements of Bureau officials and private correspondence with Bureau officials in Washington, show that the number of Indians serviced is about one half of what it was in 1957 due to two extrinsic factors: 1. many Indians are not really equipped for relocation; 2. the impact of the recent recessions on job opportunities. This is an evaluation pertaining strictly to the relocation program. It is true that the vocational training program administered by the same staff is equipping many young Indians with skills which will enable them to be placed on jobs away from the reservations. But post graduate educational opportunities are also provided by the Bureau's Branch of Education as well as private agencies. To

say that the relocation program is currently assisting few Indian people in their movement off the reservations does not at all mean to rule out the fact that the Bureau is assisting Indians to economic opportunities off the reservation through other channels.

It is encouraging to see that the recent comprehensive survey of the status of vocational trainees cited by Mr. Knodel indicates a different trend in the job location preference of those finishing vocational training than could be gathered from early scattered reports. Presently there are too few job opportunities in reservation areas and it is not likely that the Indian would find as good a job in the reservation area as he would away from the reservation. However, I would want to pose one question regarding the statistics quoted by Mr. Knodel. Do the 81 per cent of the trainees employed away from the reservation mean that they were originally placed on jobs away from the reservation or that they are presently employed there three, six, or twelve months after graduation. The basis of this question is the personal acquaintance with cases where trainees were placed on jobs, worked for several months, then returned to the reservation.

But regardless of what trends the statistics may reveal, we must not forget that the majority of Indian workers are going to remain on or near their reservation community. This points to a great need to build up the home communities socially and economically. As long as the reservation communities remain depressed areas with all the personal and social problems which accompany such a condition, the root of the problem remains with us. Young Indian people grow up under the most adverse conditions in the reservation communities and are equipped in the poorest way to face the outside world. Thus, even if many of them do plan to move to economic opportunities away from the reservation they do so under serious disadvantages. The building up of the home communities will not only aid the people who chose to remain there, but will help immensely the process of movement out from the reservation.

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